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STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME II

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THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

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VOLUME II

PUBLISHED BY THE
NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION
NORTHFIELD, MINNESOTA
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PREFACE

The first two contributions in the present volume illustrate the historical possibilities of two classes of source material that have hitherto been little used by students of American immigration. Probably every considerable emigration from Europe to America has produced its quota of "emigrant songs," some written by the emigrants themselves, some by friends or enemies of the movement in the home country. These songs reflect the motives and the feelings of the emigrants and also give information about European opinion on the migration. It would be interesting to gather up texts of such songs for all the streams of population that contributed to the nineteenth-century immigration to the United States. Professor Ruud has made an important beginning in the translations here presented.

Professor Cadbury in his article on the immigration of 1836 and 1837 not only makes a notable contribution to the early history of Norwegian immigration but also calls the attention of American historians to the value of the ship manifests now preserved in the archives of the Customs House in New York. It is to be hoped that these precious manuscripts will eventually be placed in the national archives building soon to be erected in Washington. They are in fact federal archives and their historical significance makes it imperative that they should be scientifically administered.

The document translated and edited by Mr. Hodnefield is an illuminating "America letter" of the late sixties. Its publication affords an opportunity to the board of editors to remind members that the Association desires to build up a large collection of original "America letters" and to bring out as soon as possible a volume or two of such materials. The coöperation of interested persons both in Norway and in the United States would greatly facilitate this project.

The articles by Professor Larson and Professor Flom fall within the domain of Norwegian-American cultural history, a field that it is eminently proper for the Association to cultivate. Though it is not planned to establish a regular book review section in the present series, the importance of Dr. Rohne's recently published study of *Norwegian-American Lutheranism up to 1872* and the quality of Professor Stephenson's review of it fully justify the space devoted to it in these pages.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

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STUDIES AND RECORDS

VOLUME II

NORWEGIAN EMIGRANT SONGS

Translated and Edited by Martin B. Ruud

INTRODUCTION

The verses here printed are the first installment of a body of emigrant songs, widely scattered, which the Society hopes to collect and to publish from time to time. They have been printed before in the original Norwegian, most of them in *Decorah-Posten*; but no apology is needed for bringing them together and making them accessible in an English version. For on any valuation they form an interesting, even revealing, chapter in the history of Norwegian emigration to the United States. No one will charge them with depth or poetic glow, or think of them as embodying that imaginative reconstruction of life which it is the office of the poet to give. The most obvious reason for this, of course, is that the writers were not poets; for the most part only poetasters of the school of Oehlenschlæger and Andreas Munch. But a second reason is that these men were not, save in one or two poems, carried away by deep emotion, nor even emotion recollected in tranquillity; they are writing, indeed, not poems at all, but versified tracts for the times. And tracts cannot be turned into literature by the easy expedient of turning them into verse. We shall look in vain, then, for anything to touch the spirit; but the historian at least may find, by way of compensation, not a little to illuminate for him the backgrounds of emigration; the motives for it and the way it struck solicitous observers who stayed at home and did their futile best to stem the tide.

No one can doubt, in the light of these poems, that the dominating motive was economic. Of course there were other factors as well, even though they do not appear—sheer love of adventure and the *Wanderlust* of the race; and one remembers the devoted self-sacrifice of the pioneer clergy, who

surely had everything to lose. But all these were of secondary importance, and they affected only a handful. The compulsion that drove the emigrants out upon their hazardous adventure, the terrors of which are luridly portrayed in poem after poem, was the hope the new world held out to them of economic betterment. "Farewell, Norway, and God bless thee. Stern and hard wert thou always; but as a mother I honor thee, though thou skimped my bread." That strain is never far away. It was easy for moralists in comfortable berths to tell them that if they would but work as hard at home as they would have to work in America, the stern soil of Norway too would yield unimaginable riches. That sermon had a good deal of truth, but there were sad flaws in it, and everyone knew it. They and their fathers had grubbed away generation after generation on their tiny strips of soil, and they could not see that it had brought them much or offered much for the future — certainly no such dazzling prospects of wealth and social position as seemed to be theirs for the asking in El Dorado. Ditmar Mejdel's capital skit, "Oleana," has about as much relation to the truth as satire usually has, but it does have a relation, and no one can miss the point.

One other factor, however, does emerge as one reads these poems — the sense on the part of so many of social and political inferiority. The constitution of 1814 had unlocked the doors of power to the peasants, but it did not quite open them, and its full potentialities were not to appear for many a day. In the meantime, the old bureaucracy in church and state sat tight, and the old order only slowly gave way to the new. In the face of this supremacy, rooted as it seemed in the very nature of things, the little folk lost hope; the simple fact, and it was no less, that they had the most democratic society and government in Europe counted for little, even less the extraordinarily high character of the ruling class. I fancy that the dichotomy of culture was responsible for much of this feeling. The bureaucrats were cosmopolitan, strange exotics of Copen-

hagen and London and Paris, planted in an alien soil among alien people whose ways and speech they despised or patronized, or at any rate preferred to admire at a distance. There were exceptions of course, but they hardly altered the general attitude. Norway had begun even then to pay the penalty of this cleavage in her civilization. But whatever the cause, there can be no doubt about the feeling — in Norway were servitude and chains and slavery; across the sea, in Oleana, men were, not merely men, — there was small comfort in that, — but gentlemen of position, and, of course, of wealth.

In the face of such attractions it was useless for well-meaning patriots to protest. It was useless to tell victims of the America fever how free they were, how beneficent their government, how beautiful and romantic and historic their country; it was useless to ring the changes on the terrors of the wilderness or the subtler terrors of strange speech and outlandish religions and the horror of burial in unconsecrated ground. "I Norge vil jeg ikke slavelænken bære." Why should they, when they could go to a land where the beggar might not only look at the king but hope some day to be king himself?

And yet there was something heroic about it all. These men and women may have gone out with a bundle of incredible illusions and driven by motives something other than poetic, but the illusions did not encumber them long, and if they ever thought of the motive, it must have been often with an ironic smile. For it is easy enough to analyze in cold-blooded detachment the causes of emigration, and to say that they were social, political, economic, and what not; it is less easy, now that the immigrant has done his work, to understand what that work cost. But that is Professor Rølvaag's story.

The translations that follow cannot pretend to do more than to give the sense; there is, indeed, nothing else worth giving. One or two, like "The Flight to America" and Ole Rynning's "Emigrant Song," deserve better treatment, and so does that

admirable *jeu d'esprit,* "Oleana." The rest are purely historical documents, hardly worse in English than in Norwegian. But this historical interest is by no means inconsiderable, for it is the interest attaching to documents of one of the great stories of modern times.

EMIGRANT SONG

By Ole Rynning

Written on board the "Ægir" in 1837

[Knud Langeland, *Nordmændene i Amerika; Nogle Optegnelser om de norskes Udvandring til Amerika,* 27 (Chicago, 1889)]

The cliffs of Norway lie hidden now behind the waters, but our longings go out to those shores, with their dim and ancient oak-forests, where the soughing of the pines and the thunder of the glaciers are music to Norway's son.

And though Destiny should bid him pitch his tent where once Bjørn and Leif pitched theirs, he will cherish always the mountains of old Mother Norway, and yearn with pious longing to see his beloved home once more.

FAREWELL TO NORWAY

[*Nordlyset,* August 19, 1847; reprinted in Hjalmar R. Holand, *De Norske Settlementers Historie,* 57 (Ephraim, Wisconsin, 1908)]

Farewell, Norway, and God bless thee. Stern and severe wert thou always, but as a mother I honor thee, even though thou skimped my bread. All things vanish. Grief and care sink down upon the heart; still the memory of thee refreshes the soul like the deep sleep of a child.

Other lands offer me independence, and for my labor well-being to my children. These, oh Norway, thou didst not give me, for thou art a land of lords and slaves, where the great ones ruled and we obeyed.

Once more, God bless thee; to the day of my death I will pray God to keep thee; for thou wert the keeper of my child-

hood and the joys of childhood thou gavest me. I will remember thee always, whatever life may bring, and I will pray, "Throw off the chains that embittered my youth for me."

THE FLIGHT TO AMERICA[1]

[*Bratsberg Amtstidende,* December 14, 1842; reprinted in Gunnar Malmin, "Norsk Landnam i U. S.," in *Decorah-Posten,* March 20, 1925 (Decorah, Iowa)]

"No," I said, "this is too much. I simply will not stand it. And they who have done this wrong to me shall be made to pay for it dearly.

"I am going over to America, and when these people want a little Peter, why, then their Peter'll be missing!"

My younger brother Emil, in amazement, dropped his whip and his sled and looked at me with a curious smile, half way between laughter and tears.

"But listen, Emil, you shall go with me; we two must stand together like brothers. There is no staying here any longer. Yonder we shall live in joy and mirth."

The little fellow looked at his new shoes and patted the folds of his dress. "How far do you suppose it is?" and "Wonder if these shoes will hold out?"

"Well, it's farther than to Aunt Lisa in the country, and to get there from here, we must sail across the water.

"But once we pull through, we'll never regret it; for over there they'll give you a big estate and money into the bargain.

[1] In a letter by Professor Rasmus B. Anderson that appears in *Decorah-Posten* for March 27, 1925, "The Flight to America" is attributed to "the most popular Danish poet of the time, Christian Winther, who died in 1876." Professor Anderson adds the following information: "When I was a student at Luther College we used 'Jensen's Reader' in which the poem, under the title 'Flugten til Amerika,' appeared. I remember that I once recited it at a declamation contest. As printed in *Decorah-Posten* for March 20, some of the opening lines are lacking. Winther's poem begins as follows: 'Long ago when I was little, and had begun to go to school and to wear shoes, and had discarded my kilts,' etc."

"There the horses are shod with silver, and the carriage wheels mounted with silver, too; and gold, why, that is spread all around you. All you need do is to pick it up.

"Over there raisins and almonds grow in huge clusters on the trees, and they cost you never a penny.

"Barley-sugar there is as big as biscuits; and the chocolates are like loaves of bread; it hails and snows sugar-cracknels and rains lemonade.

"Unlimited freedom, too, you have from day's end to day's end: you spit on the floor whenever you will, and strew it with burning cigars.

"And all day long you may sit and swing in wonderful rocking-chairs, and it's all a matter of your own sweet will if you care to go to school."

"Good," said Emil, "that settles the thing, for I don't much care to be sent to the Institute.

"I'll fetch my sugar-cracknel now — that'll taste good on the way — and the big Bible that's our very own."

And back he came, the sugar-cracknel in his mouth and the big Bible under his arm; and then we paused a moment, doubtful, for the parting was bitter.

We were leaving the old home forever. — Then mother opened a window a bit and called our names.

"Emil and Peter, where are you going? and what are you doing with that book out there in the street? Come straight in: here's Dorthe now — dinner is ready."

Bewildered and confused we stood — the great adventure forgotten — and then meekly obeyed that kindly, commanding voice.

TO OUR BROTHERS EMIGRATING TO AMERICA

By M. L.[2]

[*Morgenbladet*, June 24, 1842; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, March 20, 1925]

Today, as always, the glory of Norway is her deep valleys and towering mountains and bubbling springs: shame on her renegade sons; like withered leaves who may no longer challenge nature, they wish only for a favoring breeze. When men learned to worship false gods their strength grew feeble, their sinews weak, their hands palsied, and their minds confused.

A good Norseman loves, too deeply to give them up for anything in this world, his still birch woods and the eternal snows on the glaciers. A true son of the mighty fathers finds nothing nobler than these; for nothing greater, nothing more moving, came ever from the hands of God. But where the fires of the soul are extinguished and the streams of the heart are muddied, you see all things small and mean.

Aye, it is only when there is a light in his eyes, courage in his breast, and strength in his arm, when he comes to his work asking little and eager to give much, that a man can get on in Norway. Are not these the things lacking in the crowds that with a pack of illusions on their back stream down out of the western valleys to sail across the sea to lands where fortune is to be bought at a lower price?

For they are not driven as the vikings were by hatred of slavery and the violence of kings, by love of freedom and the glory of adventure, by a sense of strength that would be used or a power of mind that needs must be obeyed: nay, they are driven rather by their impotence in face of nature and the demands of the spirit; their sole vision is food and drink and a dull somnolence on the banks of the Missouri.

[2] This poem was written by the noted Norwegian hymn writer, Magnus B. Landstad, and is included in his collection of *Sange og Digte af forskjellige Slags, mest fra gamle Dage* (Christiania, 1879).

My fellow countryman, pray consider. Cast down these alien gods; give not your soul over to them: to the monster whiskey that drags men down to beasts, to a blinding self-love that makes the heart cold, and to that accursed troll Mammon: take up Olav's mace and strike them down. Then shall the sun rise again for the yeomen of Norway, and the harvest yield a thousand fold.

We are happy here in the mountains of Norway, despite the cry of Envy and the mockings of fools. Here were we born and here will we live; and we will give thanks to God who of his grace has given us so happy a dwelling for our earthly life, where brothers share our hopes and faith, where the divine seed may grow in our hearts, where love forges the chain that binds us together in life, gives comfort in sorrow, and, at the end of it all, a quiet grave.

My brothers, hear a word of counsel: remain at home here in the friendly North! From a sorrowful heart I beg you to stay here at home; do not sail over yonder. Little do you know what it is you are doing, nor the bitter disillusioning that may be yours. For when you are buried over there in the deep forests or the wilderness, a restless longing will shatter your peace, and you will remember then what now you forget.

Ah, yes, then you will strain your eyes to the east where your hopes lie, and you will ask, "Where is the gain, where is the Fortune I sought?" Man cannot live by bread alone; hence came your blunder. You yielded to your senses, bade the fatherland farewell, to seek a heap of gold in foreign lands. You did not consider that its stones weigh down the soul and bury it at last in darkness.

. . . . .

The crowd hurries to the shore. Farewell, my friend, and God be with you. The yards are trimmed and the sails set, and out you sweep to sea.

That shouting seems to me a dirge sung for a friend. You, too, are moved, for I see the tears well up, your cheeks grow pale.

This land in the north is mirrored in your heart, and the memory goes with you. Bitter will the moment be when the last glimpse of the coast fades away in the east.

Ye young men in the pride of youth, farewell; may God go with you where'er you go; and ye maidens of Norway, God keep you ever chaste and pure.[3]

Friends and countrymen, a fond farewell! May you all, in the distant lands to which you go, prove the worth of the stock from which you sprang.

But my warmest prayer of all is this: Be true to God always; live your lives obedient to His law, so that yonder in the great forests you may die in His salvation.

. . . . .

A father could not persuade his older son to go with him: despite cries and protests he took the younger: black sorrow fell upon the mother.

The boy went solitary to the old home. Not a soul was there. He closed the door and went away. God forgive you, father, what have you done?

Faithful Signe has gone with her husband, hiding her grief in her bosom. She can stand it no longer, and falls unconscious to the deck.

Gundvor sits under the linden-tree (*Havnens Lind*), golden locks about her cheeks, and she sighs in her anguish, "I have no hope left to me."

Silently she wipes the tears away. "Good luck to you, Olav; but your sweetheart will never be happy again."

. . . . .

On the western ocean a mother rocks the child at her bosom. The child is sick; the storm is rising.

The sea-mews circle about with hoarse cries; the shark, his jaws gaping wide, awaits the victim. The child cries, and moans. Oh, God, it is dead!

[3] In the poem as printed in Landstad's *Sange og Digte* this verse is preceded by a farewell addressed to an "old, gray-haired man," closing with the line "Though you love life, you go to die on a foreign shore."

The mother's heart is broken: Wildly she stares at the sea. "Oh, God, what would I not give for a church-yard! They will cast my child into the sea."

A POOR MAN'S DREAMS OF EMIGRATION TO AMERICA

By "David"

[*Morgenbladet*, May 4, 1843; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, March 20, 1925]

Spring has returned, and longings awaken now in our countrymen's breasts: life is so cramped and narrow here at home; surely things are better in America.

As the waves of the Atlantic are gilded by the sun, he dreams that he stands on that distant shore: "There my wishes shall all be fulfilled; there shall I find my El Dorado.

"I know well that even in the loveliest lands I may win my bread only in the sweat of my brow. But there prosperity will mark my every step, and life flow as a stream of happiness and peace.

"For the land is fertile there, and wages are high, and I can easily earn what here I may never hope for, there where Fortune smiles on the humble, and all are equal before the law."

Thus he thinks, and his imaginings conjure up the picture of a golden age. Would to God it were not all a dream! Would to God he may not mingle his tears of regret with the waters of the sea.

All his goods he gives away that he may sail hence unencumbered. He does not reflect, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush." I pray God that he may not mingle tears of regret with the waters of the sea.

And to him, O God, who cannot seek the land of fortune alone, but with his wife and children, grant that his wanderings do not lay him in his grave.

The pangs of grief strike deeper in foreign lands, where Norse tongues can speak no comfort in our loneliness: strange

speech in strange lands is poor requital for the loss of the familiar tones of home.

Before you set out consider thoughtfully what you have to win and to lose: here you have but to harrow; yonder you must plow, and learn everything anew from the beginning. Life is short: order and contentment will bless the soil of our fathers for us.

EMIGRANT SONG

[From Drammen. Printed by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten,* March 20, 1925]

I am nothing but a cussed tramp, with hardly a rag to my name; but if only I could emigrate I'd get what I want. For I notice that every blessed emigrant, ne'er-do-wells and all, can get to America along with the best of them.

OLEANA

[*Decorah-Posten,* March 20, 1925; contributed by Rasmus B. Anderson]

In Oleana, that's where I'd like to be, and not drag the chains of slavery in Norway.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! Oleana!
Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! Oleana!

In Oleana they give you land for nothing, and the grain just pops out of the ground. Golly, that's easy.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

The grain threshes itself in the granary while I stretch out at ease in my bunk.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And the crops (?)! You just ought to see the potatoes! You can distil at least a quart of whiskey from every one of them.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And Münchener beer, as sweet as Ytteborg's, runs in the creeks for the poor man's delectation.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And the salmon, they leap like mad in the rivers, and hop into the kettles, and cry out for a cover.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And little roasted piggies rush about the streets politely inquiring if you wish for ham.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And the cows they milk and churn and make cheese just as skilfully as Else my sister.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And the calves they kill and flay themselves and turn tc veal roast faster than you can take a drink.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And the hens lay eggs as big as a storehouse, and the cocks strike the hour like an eight-day clock.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And cakes fairly rain from the skies above you. Good Lord, what wondrous tid-bits.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

The sun shines faithfully all night long, so that you can see in the dark just like a cat.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

The moon is full every night, that is certain: I am observing it now with a bottle for a telescope.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

You bet, they give you two dollars a day for carousing; and if you are good and lazy, they'll probably give you four.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

The old woman and the kids, why, they go to the poorhouse; if they don't pay they get it on the snout.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

You don't have to work to support your bastards; if you did, I shouldn't be sitting here spinning verses.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And we all stalk about in velvet suits with silver buttons, smoking meerschaum pipes which the old woman fills for us.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And she has to sweat and toil and struggle; and if she doesn't do it, she gives herself a beating.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

And every last one of us plays upon the fiddle, and dances a merry polka; and that's not so bad!

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! etc.

Oh, I'd much rather live in Oleana than drag the chains of slavery over there in Norway.

Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! Oleana!
Ole-Ole-Ole-oh! Oleana!

EVENING PRAYER ON THE ATLANTIC

By Chr. H.

Written on the Banks of Newfoundland, April(?)6, 1846

[*Morgenbladet*, July 19, 1846; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, March 27, 1925]

Once again has the sun gone to rest, and another day of life has slipped by. No one may halt the hurrying hours; no one may bid Time stay. Oh, but ere night spreads its cool wings over the dark waters my thoughts shall ascend, silent, full of gratitude, to heaven and to my God. "Merciful Father, Thou who hast summoned earth and sea from the deeps of chaos; Thou who dost forgive each fallen sinner and never askest 'Who?' or 'Why?' Thou, unchanging forever and ever, Thou who dost bless the penitent child, the Everlasting Limb of the Tree of Life, at the foot of thy Throne I offer my prayer:

"'Far toward the North, where the darkling spruce covers the mountains, there have I builded my humble cot; poor, aye, poor because of me, O God; I best know it. And there have I left behind me in grief and suffering her, the jewel of my earthly life; but with the hope, O God, that in days to come, I shall clasp once more my beloved wife.

"'O Thou who searchest each human heart, Thou who hast given us life, O Father in Heaven, here in grief and anguish I

pray that Thou wilt watch over my humble home. Home! that dost keep my only treasure, all that I cherish, for thee I pray. Bless them, O God, the loved ones at home, wife and son, bound to me in bonds of blood and affection. Bless, too, all those who have befriended me and who have reached me a helping hand!

. . . . . .

"'Night has fallen; the evening breezes hurry our ship toward a foreign shore. But the ties that bind me to home fire my courage and strengthen my soul. Should all things else perish — fleeting as a shooting star — O God, let not the ties break that bind me to the North.'"

NORWAY AND AMERICA

By P.

[*Morgenbladet*, August 23, 1846; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, March 27, 1925]

"Norway is a poor and wretched land, and now I am going to America.

"Here I have to slave and suffer want: in America every one can make a living.

"There I shall win riches and glory. Farewell, farewell! Here we go.

"Farewell, farewell, here we go. You'll be sorry you didn't come along."

. . . . . .

Poor fellow! You'll soon regret you've left friends and kin and home behind you.

When the ship bears you far from Norway's coast, deep longings will waken and melt your heart.

Then, be assured, the welling tears will moisten your cheek, and your bitterness will soften.

For Norway is truly a fostering mother; and you will miss her, miss her more than you can think.

. . . . . .

In the Bible we read that the Jews wept by the waters of Babylon, and prayed.

For they dreamt of the towering mount of Zion, and they wasted away in anguish and longing.

And should you, some day, reach America, I fear it will go with you as it did with the Jews.

For many a man has gone to America; but many a man has come disappointed away.

But even should you find there gold abundant as the sands of the sea, one thing you will never find — a fatherland.

THE EMIGRANT'S LAMENT

By G. Berner

[*Morgenbladet,* June 3, 1855; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten,* March 27, 1925]

Ah, why did I forsake that beloved land that saw my birth, my North land! Though the waves of the Arctic wash thy shores, still thou art the dearest on earth. In vain now I repent the rash passion that took me to this foreign shore, where only an aching longing fills my heart.

I miss the smiling dale, and the mountain bathed in memories of childhood, and the spring and its bubbling waters leaping down the rocks. For here the springs are not so blue, nor the fields so green, nor Nature so lovely, as in the old homeland in the North.

I miss the gracious season of summer, when Nature never sleeps, and the elves dance on the green, and the midnight sun glows in the sky. I miss the majesty of winter — the flaming northern lights turning night to day.

I miss that lovely being with the blooming cheeks, whose image is printed deep in my heart and whose charm nothing may withstand — a maiden of Norway. And more than all, I miss the speech of Norsemen, sharp and crisp as the clash of swords.

When I hear them, those familiar tones from the mountains and dales of the homeland, my heart is filled with a melancholy happiness, and they speak to me in a thousand voices of the carefree years of childhood, and they conjure up before me a vision of mother beckoning me home.

And then, overwhelmed with sorrow, I think of the spot that conceals the dust of the dear departed, where weed-flowers burgeon midst the mouldering leaves. O ye storms, sweep me back, if only for a moment, to weep and pray beside the moss-grown grave.

FORTUNE

By G. Berner

[*Morgenbladet*, July 15, 1855; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, March 27, 1925]

Seek not in distant lands an uncertain and illusive good fortune. Think you not that griefs afflict you, there no less than here? Think you that you can ever forget the soil that conceals the dust of your fathers? Think you that you can still the silent inner voices that speak to you of the lovely valleys of home? And do you think that, enveloped in these memories, you shall find peace and fortune on your melancholy way? No, no! Do not deceive yourself!

THE EMIGRANT SHIP

By "Rungolf"

[*Morgenbladet*, April 30, 1861; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, March 27, 1925]

On an evening in spring-time, as the sun brilliantly clear and bright, was setting, gilding the tree-tops with its light, a ship flying the Norwegian flag lay quietly at anchor, its image mirrored in the waters.

To my inward eye the ship there in the peace of evening lay bathed in a light of sadness. From the shore came only the

sighing of the forest, and in the light evening breeze the little billows rippled on their way.

A peace like the peace of heaven rested on sea and land. In the sky, clouds, brilliant red, drifted by like a conflagration, and in the water their glowing reflection.

It was as though Nature was being lulled asleep and sighed softly, as though one heard the moan of some dark secret anguish from behind the veil of night.

There saw I the ship freighted with its precious cargo from the North for the banks of the Mississippi; ah, yes, the vessel sailing to the music of hope and of happy days to come.

It lay there, so proud and stately, held back by the failing breeze, and the flag that so often had sung in exultation in the might of the storm, hung lifeless and weeping.

. . . . . .

On shore a little band gaze rapt at the stately ship so soon to take from us the rich fruits of life's summer and autumn and the flowers of its spring-time.

Alas, many a son and daughter of Norway is now to sail far across the sea, leaving behind them their home and friends and kinsfolk for a world they do not know.

Where now is the spell of the motherland, the land of our youth and our childhood? Surely our hearts still cling to her.

Are not her skies still blue, her meadows flower-bedecked, her fields golden? The forests, are they desolate and empty? and the treasures of the sea, have they come to an end?

Has she been harried by an enemy and laid waste, her laws annulled? Is her freedom but a name; virtue and happiness, are they chimeras?

O my brother, look about you and tell me if Norway is not the happiest and richest of lands. The foundations of society are sound, and every citizen lives his life in peace.

Wherever my eye falls, on mountain, valley, and fjord, an abundance of riches smiles at me. From the blooming meads

of the south to the heaths of Finmark, busy hands may win their daily bread.

Toilsome, I know, is the way in mountains and valleys; and the sea takes its toll; but the folk grow hardy and strong, and they know how to win through.

See yon noble patriarch with the snow-white hair. The tears come to his eyes as he bids farewell to his son, who with wife and children would leave him now.

The old man has lived here these many years, safe and happy on the farm of his fathers. All he required he had, and here where his forbears rest, he too would rest.

They go aboard; the old man stands motionless on the shore gazing at the ship, like Mother Norway herself lamenting the going of her children.

. . . . .

The winds swell the flapping sails, and the ship glides majestically out to sea. The groves fade away, and the deep valley and the mountain peaks are lost in the mists.

"Farewell" — the last word of parting. The storms from the North shall shout it, and the little billows gliding softly off-shore shall sing it like a threnody heard in dreams.

And yet, even now, when the last skerry has disappeared, the brothers still stand gazing fixedly at the spot where the last glimpse of the fatherland vanished away.

STAY IN THE COUNTRY AND MAINTAIN YOURSELF HONORABLY

By P. A. Jensen

[*Morgenbladet*, January 29, 1864; reprinted by Malmin, in *Decorah-Posten*, March 27, 1925]

Where in this wide world do you imagine that you will find greater happiness than here at home? Think of your father's silver hair, your mother's voice, your brother and sister; think too of friends and kin. When they shall meet together, where then will you be found?

Think you that you will find in those new lands to which you go the same music in the streams? the same sun? the same summer? Think you the flower that grew by your mother's cot blooms on foreign shores no less?

Nay, be sure, you will not find it so. For clouds will hide the sun from you, and darkness, the stars. Soon will you forget the speech and customs of your father; and however life may deal with you, you will live an exile always.

How can you thus rashly spurn the life your father lived? Or do you fancy that you can carry the old farm with you in your pack? Honest toil never suffered want, nor honor, shame. And if loafers lacked for bread, is it not fitting so?

You would go to seek for gold? Assuredly, you shall find more at home. Dig it out of the soil; that will bring you honor. Wrest it from the deeps of the sea and the heart of the mountains, where it glows like burning coals in the darkness.

Here, under the protection of beneficent laws, you are as free as the birds of the air. Would you bring that to an end? Dare you take the risk? Here the faith of your fathers was to you as a shield and buckler. What if it should fail you on an alien soil?

For where in all the world could you lose your own self? Nay, stay rather at home in the land of your people. Your cottage, indeed, may be humble and your fortune poor; but when all is over, friendly hands will deck your grave with flowers.

FOUR IMMIGRANT SHIPLOADS OF 1836 AND 1837

By Henry J. Cadbury

There will always be a special interest in the first groups of Norwegians that came as immigrants to America in the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century. The premier place is held by the brave band of fifty-two, counting crew and children, who came on the sloop "Restaurationen" in 1825. Next to them the principal large contingents were those who came nearly a dozen years later in four vessels, the Køhler brigs "Norden" and "Den Norske Klippe" in 1836 and the barks "Ægir" and "Enigheden" in the following year. The uncertainty as to the personnel of these parties, especially of the famous sloop party, led the author to inquire from the federal authorities whether there were some records at New York Harbor concerning the vessels that brought them. The immigration records there prior to June 15, 1897, were destroyed in the Ellis Island fire of that date and they probably did not extend back before 1845. At the Customs House, however, the records of vessels arriving from foreign ports date back to 1795, and it was there that the lists and other data of arrivals given below were obtained. The passenger list of "Restaurationen" is missing, but one entry yields the following information: Sloop: Restoration, 60 tons; Master: Kelland; Port: Stavanger, Norway; Date: October 14, 1825.[1]

[1] It was through the courtesy of Mr. H. C. Stewart, assistant collector of the port of New York, that the writer came into possession of the lists and other data. In his first letter Mr. Stewart sent the entry for "Restaurationen" and added, "The passenger list is missing and there is no record of any seizure at this port." Later he wrote that the indexes show the entries for the vessels "Norden," "Ægir," and "Enigheden," but not for "Den Norske Klippe." The item of greatest interest, however, was his statement that the office had on file passenger

These lists should be of great interest not only for the thousands of descendants of the pioneers whose names they include, but also for all who appreciate the historical importance of the journeys. The lists are probably not quite infallible, but they are far more complete and accurate than the records based upon oral tradition, as some comparison will easily show. Several of the individual immigrants on the four boats were important figures in the early Norwegian migration and settlement.

In size and influence no other group of immigrants in the first generation of Norwegian immigration can compare with the 343 passengers of these four ships that constituted the bulk of the exodus of 1836 and 1837. The general information conveyed by the lists may be summarized as follows:

Name	Date of Manifest	Master	No. of Pas.	Tons
Brig "Norden"	July 20, 1836	Tønnes Willemsen	110	290
Brig "Den Norske Klippe"	August 15, 1836	" Peter Rolfsen	57	150
Bark "Ægir"	June 11, 1837	Christian K. Behrens	84	21-?
Brig "Enigheden"	September 14, 1837	Jens Pedersen	91	—

The total number of passengers would thus be 342, but one birth and five deaths on "Norden" on the voyage would change it to 338.[2] All the passengers but one ("Ægir" 73) were Norwegians.

lists of "Norden" and the "Ægir." The author accordingly arranged to have these lists copied by Miss Dikka Bothne of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Subsequently he verified and corrected the copies by the originals and prepared them for the press. This was already completed when he had another opportunity to visit the record department at the Customs House and he determined to search for the lists of the other two ships, which the custodians had reported that they were unable to find. To his great delight he was rewarded by finding the complete passenger lists for "Enigheden" and "Den Norske Klippe," and he is therefore now able to offer all four for the use of students of early Norwegian immigration.

[2] Olaf M. Norlie, in his *History of the Norwegian People in America*, 138 (Minneapolis, 1925) gives 337 as the total number on the four ships. This work will be referred to hereafter by the author's surname.

Each of the lists has the following printed headings: "Names," "Age," "Sex," "Occupation," "The Country to which they severally belong," "The Country in which they intend to become inhabitants," and "Died on the voyage." Not all the columns have been copied in the case of every ship. Only "Norden" has entries under "Died on the voyage." The native country is indicated as Norway for all the passengers except one, A. C. Stange from Germany ("Ægir" 73). The destination is marked as United States for all on "Norden" and the "Ægir" and as Illinois for all on "Den Norske Klippe" and "Enigheden." The occupation list has not always been filled out with care; the entries under "Occupation" are very incomplete for the two vessels last named and even the entries under "Sex" are often obscure and carelessly written. For convenience of reference, numbers have been prefixed to the names; indeed, this had already been done on the manifest of "Enigheden." It will be observed that the lists differ in the way names and kinship are designated, but fortunately the names appear to be arranged by families.

The lists are given in chronological order. No attempt has been made to give full or elaborate discussion, but each list is followed by brief notes, with references to a few standard works. No doubt those who are more conversant with Norwegian-American lore will find many other points of interest in the simple contemporary data here offered for study.

"NORDEN"

According to an interesting letter from Captain Tønnes Willemsen to Elias Tastad, written in Bremerhaven on November 18, 1836, the voyage of "Norden," though comparatively brief, was cold, wet, and stormy, though no hurricane was encountered.[3] Many of the passengers caught severe colds,

[3] Willemsen's letter was published by Gunnar J. Malmin in *Decorah-Posten*, December 5, 1924.

probably from lack of sufficient clothing, especially for the legs; at least, that is the explanation of the captain, who blames them for not heeding his advice in that regard and recommends that future immigrants provide themselves with wooden shoes. He refers also to the illness of nursing infants, incurred from their mothers, but, strangely enough, he makes no mention of the five deaths on the voyage noted in the manifest. On the contrary, he repeatedly speaks of the voyage as having gone very well.

Except for "Restaurationen," which made the voyage eleven years before, "Norden" was the first immigrant ship from Norway to reach America. As on the earlier occasion, the bright colors displayed as the immigrants landed in their best clothes made some impression at the harbor. This the captain mentions, as well as the admiration that the Americans felt for their quietness when compared with the Irish and the Germans.

Evidently Knud Anderson Slogvig was the leader of this party, as he was of the exodus in general. Rasmus B. Anderson gives the date of departure from Stavanger as the first Wednesday after Pentecost and that of arrival at New York as July 12, 1836.[4] The later date of the ship's manifest is no real contradiction. The number of passengers on the brig, 110, approached very near the legal limit. It will be remembered that the American law permitted only two passengers for every five tons and that on that account "Restaurationen," with fifty-two passengers and forty-six tons, met trouble on its arrival in New York in 1825. Probably because

[4] *The First Chapter of Norwegian Immigration (1821-1840); Its Causes and Results,* 43 ff. (Madison, Wisconsin, 1895). On page 156 Anderson gives the first Sunday after Pentecost as the date of departure. He makes no attempt to give all the names of the passengers of "Norden" and apparently he did not know their total number. Anderson's book will be referred to hereafter by his surname. *The Shipping and Commercial List* (New York), July 20, 1836, gives the arrival in its marine list as of July 16, 17: "Nor. brig Nordon, Williamson, Stephanda [*sic*], Norway."

Willemsen and Tastad knew of this difficulty with the authorities, Willemsen added in a postscript to his letter: "The ship was measured in New York 280½ tons and so I can take 112 persons."

<DISTRICT OF NEW-YORK — PORT OF NEW-YORK.>

<I,> Tonnes Willemsin <do solemnly, sincerely and truly> Swear <that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New-York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the> Brig. Norden <whereof I am Master, from> Stavanger

<*Sworn to, the*> 20 July <183>6<,> <So help me God.> <*before me,* >JAS CAMPBELL Dy Coll TÖNNES WELLEMSIN

<List or Manifest of all the Passengers taken on board the> Brig. Norden (Norwegian) <whereof> Tonnes Willemsin <is Master, from> Stavanger <Burthen> 290 [*Portion crossed out*].

	NAMES		AGE YRS.	MOS.	SEX	OCCUPATION	DIED ON VOYAGE
1	Knud Olsen Hetleved		43		Male	Countryman	
2	Sigrid	his wife	43		Female		
3	Ole	" Son	12		Male		
4	Johannes	" Do	6		Do		
5	Sören	" Do	—	6	Do		
6	Ellen Sophia	" daughter	15		Female		
7	Malene	" Do	8		Do		
8	Birthe Serina	" Do	3		Do		
9	Jacob Jacobsen		25	6	Male	Countryman	
10	Christine	his wife	22		Female		
11	Lars Nielsen Hellen		27		Male	Countryman	
12	Martha	his wife	22	6	Female		
13	Samuel Enersen		49		Male	Countryman	
14	Birtha	his wife	51		Female		
15	Kirstina	his daughter	13		Do		
16	Bertha Serina	Do	8		Do		
17	Halvar Bergersen		32		Male	Countryman	

	Names		Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation	Died on Voyage
18	Martha Olsdatter	his wife	31		Female		
19	Peder Ornmundsen		32		Male	Countryman	
20	Bertha Karina	" wife	20		Female		
21	Hendrick Erichsen		44		Male	Countryman	
22	Magle	his Wife	36		Female		
23	Johnas	" Son	10		male		
24	Erich	" Do	7		Do		
25	Peder	" Do	—	6	Do		
26	Bertha	" daughter	14		Female		Dead
27	Walbarg	" Do	3		Do		
28	Anton Osmundsen		24		Male	Joiner	
29	Johannes Berecssen (?)	Hetland	30		Do	Countryman	
30	Bertha	his wife	27		Female		
31	Lars	" Son	1		Male		
32	Osmund (?) Endresen	Tretland (?)	38		Male	Countryman	
33	Maria	his Wife	33		Female		
34	Endre	" Son	11		male		
35	Reier	" Do	7		Do		
36	Osmund	" Do	4		Do		
37	Endre	" Do	1		Do		Dead
38	Peder Ormsen		33		Do	Countryman	
39	John Jacobsen Hallen		55		Do	Countryman	
40	Kirsten	his wife	50		Female		
41	Hanna	" daughter	24		Do		
42	Gurri	" Do	20		Do		
43	Kirsten	. Do	14		Do		
44	Helge	. do	7		Do		
45	Jacob	. Son	18		male		
46	Marcus	" Do	10		Do		
47	Isack Jacob Gudmunsen		20		Do	Countryman	Dead
48	Anna Olsdatter	" Sister	18		Female		
49	Ole Marcussen		46		Male	Carpenter	
50	Anna Cathrina	wife	44		Female		
51	Kleng Klensen		27		Male	Carpenter	
52	Inger	his Wife	24		Female		
53	Marthe	daughter	3		Do		
54	Gurri	do		3	Do		Dead
55	Ole Kleppe		25		male	Carpenter	
56	Karen "	Sister	36		Female		
57	Djorn Andressen Eike		34		male	Carpenter	

	Names		Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation	Died on Voyage
58	Abel Catharina	" Wife	26		Female		
59	Arenhaldus Andreas	" Son	4		male		
60	Augustinus Meldal Drun	Do	2		Do		
61	Baar Hansen Boe		48		Do	Carpenter	
62	Helge	his Wife	41		Female		
63	Hans	" Son	12		male		
64	Birtha	" Daughter	15		Female		
65	Boel	" Do	10		Do		
66	Anna Dorthea	do	8		Do		
67	Anna	do	6		Female		
68	Karen	do	5		Do		
69	Holger Hansen Natvig (?)		35	6	Male	Smith	
70	Andreas Sigbjornsen		26		Do	Countryman	
71	Marthe Govertsdatter		26		Female	Maid Servant	
72	Ole Tensen		25	6	male	Countryman	
73	Anders Enersen		45		Do	Countryman	
74	Oline	his Wife	47		Female		
75	Ener	" Son	15	6	male		
76	Anderes	" Do	9		Do		
77	Susanna	" daughter	14		Female		
78	Lisbeth	" Do	11		Do		
79	Iver R. Walde		35		male	Countryman	
80	Anna	his Wife	26		Female		
81	Bertha	" daughter	7		Do		
82	Cecille	" do	5		Do		
83	Reier	" Son	1	6	male		Dead
84	Karen Christophersdatter		24		Do		
85	Johan Gieruldsen		21		Do	Shopman	
86	D. Anæstatter	widow	40		Female		
87	Aad	her Son	15		male		
88	Gudmund	" Do	9		Do		
89	Anna	" Daughter	15		Female		
90	Ellen Sophia	Do	13		Do		
91	Bertha Serina	Do	6		Do		
92	Knud A. Slogvig		38		male	Countryman	
93	Anderes A. Oskeland		34		Do	Countryman	
94	Malene	his Wife	30		Female		
95	Andereas	" Son	3		male		
96	Anna Larsdatter		18		Female	Maid Servant	
97	T. Jacobsdatter		18		Do	Maid Servant	

	Names		Age Yrs. Mos.	Sex	Occupation	Died on Voyage
98	Lars Larsen Brimsoe		24	Male	Joiner	
99	Jacob K. Djerke		47	Do	Countryman	
100	Magle	his Wife	44	Female		
101	Gjertrud	" daughter	12	Do		
102	Britha	" Do	9	Do		
103	Bagnhild	" Do	5	Do		
104	Knud	" Son	3 6	male		
105	Jacob	" do	10	male		
106	John A. Kalleftad		34	Do	Countryman	
107	Lars L. Narrevig		—	Do	Countryman	
108	Ole C. L. Lomme		56	Do	Countryman	
109	Ana Olsdatter		29	Female	Maid Servant	
110	Mette Troelsdatter		30	Do	Maid Servant	
	Born on the Passage					
	————Anderson			Female		

Tinnes Willemsin

The Hetletvedt (Hetleved) family (1-8) is dealt with by Anderson on pages 110-112 and 151.[5] Knud, the father, had two brothers, the slooper Ole Olson Hetletvedt and Lars Olson Hetletvedt. The ages given by Ole Olson (Olsen) the younger (3) agree with the manifest. Two of the children died in September, 1836, on their journey west. The parents died in the cholera epidemic in La Salle County, Illinois, in 1849. The names and dates given by Anderson are: (1) Knud Olson Hetletvedt, born in Stavanger *Amt* on April 21, 1793, died in Mission, Illinois, on August 12, 1849; (2) Siri (Sigrid) — not "Serina" as Anderson gives it on page 151 — born on January 13, 1793, died at Mission, Illinois, on August 3, 1849; (3) Ole Olson Hetlevedt, born in Ombo, Stavanger *Amt,* on April 23, 1824;[6] (4) John, born on April 8, 1830,

[5] In cases where names used in the notes differ in spelling from those in the lists, the spellings used in the lists are given in parentheses. The numbers following names refer to those prefixed to the names in the lists.

[6] On page 151 Anderson says that Ole Olson Hetletvedt was born in Skjold Parish on April 24, 1824.

died at Rochester, New York, on September 5, 1836; (5) Soren, born on December 30, 1835; (6) Sophia, born on July 18, 1821; (7) Malinda, born on May 12, 1827, died on Lake Michigan, September 10, 1836; and (8) Bertha, born on December 30, 1832. Norlie states on page 134 that an account of Knud and of his brother, the slooper, written by Knud's granddaughter, Mrs. C. J. Eastvold, was published in *Visergutten* (Canton, South Dakota), May 7, 1925.

Hellen (11), from which this surname is taken, is in Stavanger *Amt*. Anderson on page 135 quotes a letter written at Hellen on May 14, 1836, which says: "A considerable number of people are now getting ready to go to America from this Amt. Two brigs are to depart from Stavanger in about eight days from now, and will carry these people to America, and if good reports come from them, the number of emigrants will doubtless be still larger next year."

Anderson on page 152 refers to a Henrik Erikson Sebbe (Hendrick Erichsen, 21), who "came to America in 1836 with his two sons. They first settled in the Fox River settlement, but in 1848, they went to Salt Lake City, and there joined the Mormons." A daughter, Anna Hendrikson Sebbe, came from Norway in 1848 and married Lars Larson (Larsen) Brimsoe (98).

"Osmund Tutland from Hjelmeland in Ryfylke and wife Malinda from Aardal in Ryfylle [*sic*] and two children had come to Mission Township, La Salle County in 1836. . . . Tutland became in 1854 the founder of the Norwegian colony at Norway, Benton County, Iowa." So says Flom on page 356, but Tutland's identification with Osmund Endresen Tretland (32), whose wife was named Maria and who had three children when he arrived in America, can hardly be regarded as certain.[7] Does this name become the "Osmund Tuttle" who Anderson, on page 111, says was born in 1797,

[7] George T. Flom, *A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States* (Iowa City, 1909). The author's surname will be used for further references to this work.

came from Hjelmeland in Stavanger *Amt* in 1836, and died in 1880? The list at New York shows that the copyist started to write the last name with "He" and changed to "Tre" or possibly "Tu." It is notable that a second son was named Endre. It is usual to name one son, the oldest, for the father's father.

Information about "Kleppe" (55) and "Klep," which are Stavanger *Amt* place names, may be found in Norwegian works.

Bjørn Anderson Kvelve (Djorn Andressen Eike) and his wife and two sons (57-60) are the parents and brothers of Rasmus B. Anderson. He gives their names and ages on pages 155-170; Bjørn Anderson Kvelve, born in Vigedal parish, Stavanger *Amt,* on June 3, 1801, died at Lake Koshkonong, Wisconsin, on August 10, 1850; Abel Catharine von Krogh, born in Sandeid parish on October 8, 1809, died in Worth County, Iowa, on October 31, 1885; Arnold Andrew, born on April 9, 1832; Augustinus Meldahl Bruun, born in 1834, died in Wisconsin on August 6, 1850. The fact that twice in the names of this family and not elsewhere in the list the letter "B" was misread as "D" suggests that the copy at the Customs House, written in a uniform hand, was derived from an original list in which the names of each family were entered in different handwriting, presumably that of the literate member of the family.

Anderson on page 150 says that Andrew Anderson Aasen (Anders Enersen, 73), his wife Olena (Oline, 74), a son Einar (Ener, 75), and two other sons and two daughters came with his, Anderson's, parents on "Norden." Olena, he says, was the sister of Nels Nelson Hersdal, the slooper. The family lived two years with the latter at Kendall and then went to Illinois. Anderson mentions five children at Kendall; the manifest, which spells the name "Enerson" and gives no final name, lists only four children. It seems probable, however, that the families are the same. It is possible,

though doubtful, that the infant born on the voyage (111) was a fifth child.[8] There is a picture of Einar (Ener, 75) Anderson Aasen in Anderson opposite page 150. Flom on page 93 says: "John Hidle from Stavanger County, Norway, also emigrated in 1836, coming direct to La Salle County [*Illinois*]. In 1838 he settled at Lisbon, Kendall County. . . . Hidle, who wrote his name Hill in this country, married Susanna Anderson [*77*], daughter of Andrew Anderson; she was fourteen years old when her parents came to America, and is still living [*1909*], at Morris, Illinois, with her daughter Mrs. Austin Osmond." The name "John Hidle" or "Hill" does not appear on any of the four manifests here presented.

The name "Walde" (79) may have come from "the farm Vælde in Vats Parish, Stavanger Amt," mentioned by Anderson on page 219. As a personal name it is also spelled "Valder." "Enigheden" carried several passengers named Walde and one named Velde.[9]

Knud A. Slogvig (92) is said to have been one of the sloopers, though there are reasons to doubt this. In any case, he had been in America for some years and had returned to Norway not before 1835. It is said that he spread the "America fever" and was thus responsible for the exodus of 1836. Because he and Anders Askeland (93) stayed in New York after the arrival of "Norden," the rest of the party proceeded without leadership to Rochester. To other problems concerning Slogvig this list, which represents him as traveling to America without a wife, adds another, since tradition implied that when he returned to Norway he married a sister of the brothers Olson Hetletvedt.[10]

[8] See the note on p. 31, *post*, in regard to this child (111).

[9] See numbers 5, 33, and 38 in the list for "Enigheden," p. 47, *post*.

[10] See the note on Ana Olsdatter (109), p. 31, *post*. Slogvig's earlier history, taken from Quaker records in New York and Oslo, is given by the writer in "De første norske Kvækere i Amerika," in *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa), November 20, 1925, and "De første Kvækere i Stavanger," in the same paper, June 11, 1926.

The juxtaposition in the list of the Askeland (Oskeland) family (93-95) to Knud Anderson Slogvig (92) is no accident. Captain Willemsen's letter tells that three weeks before the arrival of "Norden," Anders Askeland's wife gave birth to a baby girl, probably the infant given in the list as born on the passage (111), and that Knud remained with them in New York instead of going forward with the main party.[11] This family is to be distinguished from Anders Enersen's family (73-78). Anderson on page 186 also mentions Anders Askeland as one of those who in 1837 went with Kleng Peerson to found a colony in Shelby County, Missouri, and later returned to La Salle County, Illinois. Flom on page 125 and Norlie on page 156 also mention Anders, or Andrew, Askeland as among the first of the Shelby County settlers.

Lars Larsen Brimsoe (98) is named by Anderson on pages 151-153 as among those who migrated in 1836. Among other information, Anderson says that Brimsoe was born on October 14, 1812, that on January 1, 1849, he married Anna Hendrikson Sebbe from Hjelmeland, a daughter of Hendrick Erichsen (21), and that he died on September 26, 1873. Anderson gives his picture opposite page 151.

Lars L(arsen) Narrevig (107) was perhaps a brother of Ingebret Larson Narvig, whom Anderson on page 179 refers to as a Quaker from Tysver, who came from Norway to Boston in 1831, thence went to Kendall, and later to Michigan, where, it is said, he had two brothers. The passenger list of the "Ægir," however, includes a K. H. Nordviig (68), and that of "Enigheden" has a Lars Larsen Narrwig (4).[12]

If Knud Anderson Slogvig (92) married a sister of the Olson Hetletvedt brothers, not in Norway but in America, Ana Olsdatter (109) may have been the woman he married. Another younger woman of the same name is given in the list (48) as a sister (?) of Isack Jacob Gudmunsen.

[11] *Decorah-Posten,* December 5, 1924.

[12] See the note on Lars Larson Narrwig ("Enigheden" 4), p. 49, *post.*

Metha (Metta, Mette) Trulsdatter (Troelsdatter) Hille (Hill) (110) was an early convert to Quakerism mentioned in the records at Oslo and in the Larson correspondence.[13]

The Anderson infant (111) is probably the girl "Pige" mentioned by Captain Tønnes Willemsen as born to the Anders Askeland family (93-95) three weeks before the arrival in New York.[14] The infant died in a hospital in New York.

"DEN NORSKE KLIPPE"

"Den Norske Klippe" was the smallest of the four vessels and had the shortest list of passengers. It is said to have been, like "Norden," a Køhler brig and to have belonged to the Kielland Company, a noted house of merchants at Stavanger. It seems probable, however, that the Køhler firm really owned the vessel and arranged for the transportation of passengers, while the Kiellands at most consigned freight upon it. Lars Larsen, writing the next summer to adjust some money matters connected with "Norden," asked Elias Tastad to go to Køhler about them.[15] Though the master's name is given three times on the manifest and five times in the indexes of arrivals at New York, it is difficult to make sure of the surname. The New York shipping news published his name as "Rolfsen," which is probably right, though the other data in its notice do not commend themselves as reliable.[16] The columns under "Sex" and "Occupation" are

[13] Information about Metha Trulsdatter Hille is given by the writer in "De første Kvækere i Stavanger," in *Decorah-Posten*, June 4, 1926.

[14] *Decorah-Posten*, December 5, 1924.

[15] Lars Larson's letter is in *Decorah-Posten*, December 5, 1924.

[16] In *The Shipping and Commercial List*, August 15, 1836, is this entry: "Ar. August 13, 14 Swe. brig Norske Klippe, Rolfson, Stavanger, Norway"; and in the *United States Gazette* (Philadelphia), August 16, 1836, is the following: "New York, Aug. 15, Ar. Swe. brig Norska, Klipde, from Rolfsen, Norway." The historians give neither the length of the voyage nor the date of sailing.

marked collectively "male" and "countryman," with the exception of 1, "shoemaker," 2, "farmer," and 49, "Turner." A few of the passengers are mentioned by historians as having arrived in 1836, but apparently no one has previously been identified as a passenger on "Den Norske Klippe," nor has the total number of passengers been known.

<District of New-York — Port of New-York>

<I,> Peter Rolfsen <do solemnly, sincerely, and truly> swear <that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New-York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the> Brig Nortske Klippe <whereof I am Master, from> Stavanger
Sworn <to the> 15 Augu[s]t <18> 36 <,>
<before me,> J H Bleecker [?] Dy Coll
<List or Manifest of all the Passengers taken on board the> Nortske Klippe <whereof> Peter Rolofsen <is Master, from> Stavanger <burthen> 150 <tons.>

Peder Rolfsen

	Names	Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation
1	Martin Pobetz (?) Mohn (?)	27		male	shoemaker
2	Johnas Nielson	33		do	farmer
3	Erich Johannessen Haase	33			
4	Ingebord Haase	27			
5	Ommund Endressen Hodnefield	30			
6	Lars Olsen Boe	29			
7	Cecilia Hallingstad	27			
8	Tjerran O Hallingstad	30			
9	Lars Larsen Sandenæs	41			Countryman
10	Martha Sandenæs	38			
11	Lars Sandenæs	11			
12	Fosten Sandenæs	08			
13	Johannes Sandenæs	4	6		
14	Fosten J Sandenæs	67			
15	Bixgitha Sandenæs	67			

	Names	Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation
16	Swent K. Lothe	39			
17	Ragnhild Lothe	41			
18	Knud Lothe	04			
19	Johanness Lothe	01	6		
20	John J. Age	41			
21	Torbjore Age	43			
22	Halstein Age	11			
23	Herborg Age	4			
24	Helge Watnem	42			
25	Kari Watnem	32			
26	Lars Watnem	7			
27	Ole Watnem	5			
28	Peder Watnem	2			
29	Thormond Watnem	2			
30	Sophia Watnem	4			
31	Britha K Watnem		8 days		
32	Jacob J Gesmaroig	45			Countryman
33	Malina Gesmaroig	50			
34	Rasmus Gesmaroig	12			
35	Jacob Gesmaroig	10			
36	Peder A Fesen	24			
37	Ansten E Maage	24			
38	Halstein T Meehas	32			
39	Gurri Mehaas	29	6		
40	Rasmus Mehaas	2			
41	Sidseller Mehaas	4			
42	Ole T. Gismerierz	50			
43	Sigtreed Gismerierz	50			
44	Elizabeth do	19			
45	Neils do	14			
46	Hannah do	14			
47	Saml P Custod	25			
48	Lars H Aadland	20			
49	Edward A Koben	44			Turner
50	Toleff J Grodem	33			
51	Thorbjen T Honde (?)	22			
52	Thorbjen N Klonning (?)	22			
53	Osmund Olsen	19			Countryman
54	Ole A Hille	27	6		
55	Tormes Tollevson (?)	30			
56	Sikke Svensdatter	18 (?)			
57	Oline Johndatter	20			

Erich Johannessen Haase (3) and Ingebord Haase (4) are almost certainly the Erik and Ingeborg Johnson Sævig mentioned by Anderson on pages 149 and 169. According to Anderson, Erik Johnson Sævig was born in 1803 and came to America in 1836 from Kvinhered Parish in Norway. He died in the Fox River settlement in 1840, leaving two children, John, who later lived in Wyoming, and Anna Bertha (Betsy Ann), who became the wife of John J. Naset in Christiana, Dane County, Wisconsin. Flom on pages 175-179 gives a fuller account of him under the name "Erick Johanneson Savik." His widow married Amund Anderson Hornefjeld (Ommund Endressen Hodnefield, 5). She was born on November 22, 1802, and died on November 7, 1884.

Ommund Endressen Hodnefield (5) is most probably the Amund Anderson Hornefjeld of whom Anderson gives much information. He was born on the island of Moster near Stavanger on February 16, 1806. He married Ingeborg Johnson (Ingebord Haase, 4) in La Salle County, Illinois, in 1841 and settled with her and her two children at Albion, Dane County, Wisconsin, where he died on March 18, 1886. Portraits of Amund Anderson and his wife are given by Anderson opposite page 167. The parish registers printed by Flom contain the entry, on page 315, "Amund Anderson [came from] Stavanger 1836 [wife] Ingeborg."

Lars Olsen Boe (6) may be Lars B. Olson, who Anderson on page 153 says came to America in 1836, settled in La Salle County, Illinois, and later moved to Iowa, where he died. Flom on page 93 says that a Lars Bø, who came to America in 1836, lived and died in La Salle County. A letter of Margaret Larson, written in July, 1838, refers to a Lars Boe, who apparently was then about to return to Stavanger.[17]

[17] This letter is in *Decorah-Posten*, December 12, 1924. A letter of about the same date from Lars Larsen to Elias Tastad refers to a woman named Sissel (?), who, he says, lived about twenty-five miles west of Rochester, New York, and spoke the English language very well. The single obscure name stands, perhaps, for Cecilia, whether Cecilia Hallingstad (7) or some other.

It is natural to suppose that the name "Fosten" (12, 14) should be "Tosten."

Flom on page 95 says that "Svein Knutson Lothe [*Svein K. Lothe, 16*], who emigrated with wife and two children from Hardanger in 1836, was from the Parish of Ullensvang." As Svein Knutson Lothe he is listed as a resident of Chicago in the directory of 1839, the first directory published there, according to Flom on page 231.

Flom on page 95 refers to a Jon Jonson Aga (John J. Age, 20) and his wife and two children as having come from the same province and Parish, Ullensvang, from which Lothe (16) came. But the three other persons whom Flom names as having come from Hardanger that year do not appear to have come on either of the Køhler brigs.

In speaking of the arrival at Chicago in 1837 of the passengers on "Enigheden," Malinda Nelson, according to a statement by Anderson on page 229, said that the new immigrants engaged Helge Vatname (Watnem, 24) and Samuel Peerson (47?) to take them to Norway, Illinois. Evidently the two were Norwegians who had already established themselves at Norway and had acquired "Hoosier wagons," which they used for this journey.

There is no reason why Halstein Mehaas (Meehas, 38) may not be another of the few Norwegians mentioned by historians as living in America before 1837. Flom on page 94, following Anderson and Knud Langeland, speaks of a Halstein Torison (Torrison or Tørison) as the first Norwegian resident of Chicago. "He was from Fjeldberg in Söndhordland," says Flom, "and he came to Chicago with wife and children in October, 1836."

It seems reasonable to identify Samuel P. Custod (47) with Samuel Peerson mentioned in connection with Helge Vatname (Watnem, 24).

At first glance number 55 on the manuscript list appears to be "Tormes Tollerson," but it should doubtless be read as "Tonnes Tollevson." Anderson on page 166 says, "This

Tønnes Tollefson came from Klep Parish, Stavanger *Amt,* in one of the Köhler brigs in 1836." Flom on page 204 says that Tønnes Tolleivson, or Tollefson, came from Jæderen to America in 1839. Both historians locate him after that date in the Jefferson Prairie settlement, Boone County, Illinois, and refer to his wife, Anna ("Ægir" 43). He died in 1893.

"ÆGIR"[18]

There is some disagreement in the dates of departure and arrival of the "Ægir" given by historians. Anderson on page 198 says: "'Ægir' was eight weeks in crossing the Atlantic. In mid-ocean it collided with an American packet, but no damage was done"; and of Mons Adland (Aadland, 24), one of the passengers, he says on page 285, "He left Bergen, Norway, April 7, 1837, arriving in New York about June 12." Norlie on page 137 follows the mistaken tradition that the "Ægir" sailed on July 4, suggested, probably, by the traditional sailing date of "Restaurationen," which is also questioned.[19] O. N. Nelson gives April 7, 1837, as the sailing date, but for the arrival he gives June 9, a date supported by a notice in the marine news of the New York *Evening Star,* June 10, 1837.[20]

It is interesting to compare the list with the partial lists of passengers on the "Ægir" given by Anderson on pages 197 and 198 and Flom on pages 100 and 101. Following Knud

[18] An account of the voyage of the "Ægir" is given by Theodore C. Blegen, in "Ole Rynning's True Account of America," in *Minnesota History Bulletin,* 2:221 ff. (November, 1917). Rynning's account has recently been more fully edited by Mr. Blegen and published under the same title, *Ole Rynning's True Account of America (Publications of the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Travel and Description Series,* vol. 1 — Minneapolis, 1926).

[19] See an article by the writer, "The Norwegian Quakers of 1925," in Norwegian-American Historical Association, STUDIES AND RECORDS, 1: 63, note 5 (Minneapolis, 1926).

[20] *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States,* 224 (Minneapolis, 1900).

Langeland's account, Anderson mentions the following heads of families: N. P. Langeland (77), Mons Aadland (24), Nils Frøland (33), Anders Nordvig (15), Anders Rosseland (41?), Thomas Bauge (7), Ingebrigt Brudvig (1), and Thorbjørn Veste; and the following unmarried men: Døvig (12?), Rosseland (46), Bauge, Frøland (38), Nordvig (68), Hisdal (32), Tøsseland (39), and Ole Rynning (72). Flom repeats all these except the two Rosselands and adds the following names: Nils L. Jørdre and his wife and six children and Peder J. Maurset and his wife and child from Hardanger; Amund Rosseland and his wife and three children (41–45), Lars G. Skeie and his wife and two children (48–51), Sjur E. Rosseland (46), and Svein L. Midthus (47) from Vikør; and Halle Væte and his wife and grown daughter, Odd J. Himle, Kolbein O. Saue, Styrk O. Saue, Nils L. Bolstad (13), Baard Haugen, John H. Bjørgo (14), and Ole Dyvik (12).

It will be seen that, while there is a variety of spelling, the primary list used by Anderson and Flom is generally accurate, but that, while the additions by Flom contain two groups in agreement with the passenger list, 41–51 and 12–14, he wrongly infers that all these persons were married when they crossed and he includes several names that do not belong in this party at all. The latter part of Flom's list is identical with the list of names that Anderson, on pages 328 and 329, gives of emigrants from Voss in 1837, but Anderson does not claim, as does Flom, that they came on the "Ægir" or that they were all married when they came. He says that Stark Olson Saue was married in America.

<District of New-York — Port of New-York.>

<I,> Christian K Beherns <do solemnly, sincerely, and truly> swear <that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, subscribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New-York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account

of all the Passengers received on board the [*blank in MS*] whereof I am Master, from> Bergen
Sworn <to the> 10th June <18> 37 <,> <*So help me God.*>
<Before me,> J H Bleecker [*?*] D Col C. K. Behrens.
<List or Manifest of all the Passengers taken on board the> Barque Aegier <whereof> C K Beherns <is Master, from> Bergen <burthen> 210 8/95 <tons.>

	Names	Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation
1	Ingebrigt Nielsen Brudwig	48	"	Male	Farmer
2	S Monsdatter	40	"	Female	"
3	J J Dahle	40	"	Male	"
4	A Sjursdatter	33	"	Female	"
5	A Dahle	7	"	"	"
6	J J Dahle	4	"	Male	"
7	T N Buge	61	"	"	"
8	S. Johannesdatter	61	"	Female	"
9	N Thomassson	27	"	Male	"
10	S Johannasdatter	52	"	Female	"
11	H N Dahlseider	36	"	Male	"
12	O A Dyvigen	33	"	"	"
13	N L Rolstad	36	"	"	"
14	J H Biorge	32	"	"	"
15	A H Nordvig (?)	45	"	"	"
16	M. Knudsdatter	38	"	Female	"
17	H. Andersdatter	19	"	"	"
18	M Andersdatter	15	6	"	"
19	S Andersdatter	12	6	"	"
20	M Andersdatter	10	"	"	"
21	K Andersdatter	6	"	"	"
22	H Anderson	3	"	Male	"
23	K Anderson	1	"	"	"
24	M K Aadland	44	"	"	"
25	E Knudsdatter	39	"	Female	"
26	M Monsdatta	13	"	"	"
27	B do	11	6	"	"
28	K Monsen	10	"	Male	"
29	T do	7	"	"	"
30	S Monsdatter	5	"	Female	"
31	P Monsen	2	"	Male	"

	Names	Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation
32	O H Hisdahe	25	"	"	"
33	N L Froland	41	"	"	"
34	A Vilhelmsdatter	39	"	Female	"
35	B Nielsdatter	9	"	"	"
36	L Nielson	5	"	Male	"
37	V Nielson	2	"	"	"
38	P L Froland	34	"	"	"
39	K V Tysland	28	"	"	"
40	L Shudalsness	27	"	"	"
41	A E Rosseland	46	"	"	"
42	G Ellingsdatter	40	"	Female	"
43	A Amands	18	"	"	"
44	E Amundsen	13	"	Male	"
45	E Amundsen	5	"	"	"
46	S E Rosseland	31	"	"	"
47	S L Mithus	34	"	"	"
48	L G Scheie	38	"	"	"
49	K Ellingsdatter	30	"	Female	"
50	G Larsdatter	5	"	"	"
51	A Larsdatter	3	"	"	"
52	V L Schultz	23	"	Male	"
53	S E Trangereide	27	"	"	"
54	S Andersdatter	23	"	Female	"
55	E Samuelsen	1	6	Male	"
56	M B Bystolen	20	"	"	"
57	H A Saboe	45	"	"	"
58	T Johannesdatter	46	"	Female	"
59	A M Halvorsdatter	19	"	"	"
60	A do	16	"	"	"
61	B do	12	"	"	"
62	T do	9	"	"	"
63	H Halvorsen	4	"	Male	"
64	A Halvorsen	21	"	"	"
65	N O Nordhienes	34	"	"	"
66	T A Ovrevieg	21	"	"	"
67	T A Birkeland	25	"	"	"
68	K H Nordviig (?)	20	6	"	"
69	N K Vettesloe	30	"	"	"
70	B Aamundsdatter	28	"	Female	"
71	E Nielsdatter	1	6	"	"

	Names	Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation
72	O Rynning	27	"	Male	"
73	A C Stange	33	"	"	
74	J J Skoerping (?)	38	"	"	
75	J F Voltziem	15	"	"	"
76	K J Alne	26	"	Female	"
77	N P Langeland	41	"	Male	"
78	M Nielsdatter	39	"	Female	"
79	N Nielsen	12	"	Male	"
80	P Nielsen	5	"	"	"
81	A Nielsdatter	14	"	Female	"
82	B Nielsdatter	10	"	"	"
83	A Nielsdatter	8		"	"
84	M Nielsdatter		6	"	"

C. K Behrens.

Ingebrigt Brudvig (Brudwig, 1), according to Anderson on pages 199–201, was one of the explorers and founders of the ill-fated settlement at Beaver Creek, Iroquois County, Illinois.

Anderson on page 295 writes: "One of the oldest settlers in Muskego [*Waukesha County, Wisconsin*] was John J. Dale [*J. J. Dahle, 3*]. He was born in Bergen Stift, Norway, in August, 1795, and came to America in the same ship with Ole Rynning in 1837. He first settled in the Fox River settlement, and came to Muskego in 1842, where he died in 1882. Anna, his wife, died in Illinois in 1839."

Ole Dyvik (O. A. Dyvigen, 12), is mentioned by Anderson on pages 328 and 329 as having migrated from Voss, but he did not know what became of him. It is probably he who appears in Anderson's list for the "Ægir" as a bachelor named Døvig.[21]

Presumably N. L. Rolstad (13) is Nils Larsen Bolstad, a Vossing frequently mentioned by Anderson and Flom as one of the first settlers in Koshkonong, or Deerfield, Wisconsin.

[21] See *ante*, p. 38.

According to Anderson on pages 336 and 345, he married Anna, a sister of Gunnul Vindeg. The church register given by Flom contains the following entry on page 319: "Niels Larsen Bolstad [came from] Vos [in] 1837 [wife] Anne [children] Lars, Ingeborg."

Probably I. H. Biorge (14) is John Haldorson Bjørgo, frequently mentioned by Anderson with Bolstad (Rolstad, 13) as one of the first settlers in Koshkonong. Svein Nilsson also mentions John Haldorson Bjørgo as an early settler in Koshkonong.[22]

Anderson, on page 284, says that Anders Nordvig (15) settled in Beaver Creek and died there.[23]

According to Anderson on pages 227 and 284, Magdalena Nordvig (M. Knudsdatter, 16), the wife of Anders Nordvig (15), was a sister of Knud Langeland, the journalist, and of Mons Aadland (24). After her husband's death she "moved to the Fox River settlement, where she died about the year 1892, over 90 years old."

One of the daughters of Anders Nordvig (15) with the initial "M" (18 or 20) is presumably the daughter Malinda, who Anderson on page 285 says was the wife of Iver Lawson, "who was a prominent Norwegian real estate owner in Chicago, and the mother of [the late] Victor F[reemont] Lawson, the well known owner of the Chicago *Record* and *News*." Norlie on page 139 and Flom on page 112 also mention Malinda Nordvig as the wife of Larson and the mother of Victor F. Lawson.

Flom on page 113 says, "Another daughter [*of Anders Nordvig, 15*], Sarah [*S. Andersdatter, 19*] (born 1824), married a Mr. Darnell, a pioneer of Benton County, Iowa, in 1854." Anderson on page 227 mentions "Mrs. Sarah Darnell, of Sandwich, Ill.," as a daughter of Anders Nordvig.

[22] "De skandinaviske Setlementer i Amerika," in *Billed-Magazin*, 1: 387 (1869).

[23] See, however, the note on Lars Larsen Narrwig ("Enigheden" 4) p. 49, *post*.

Evidently M. K. Aadland's (24) full name was Mons Knudson Aadland. Flom on page 162 says he was a nephew of Nils P. Langeland (77). His family is discussed at length by Anderson on pages 225 and 284–290, and his photograph faces page 287. Anderson states that he was born on April 14, 1793, left Bergen on April 7, 1837, and arrived in New York about June 12 and in Chicago a month later. He then went to Beaver Creek and finally to Racine County, Wisconsin, where he died on April 25, 1869. These data suggest comparison with the entry of the manifest.

E. Knudsdatter (25) is given by Anderson on page 286 as "Ellen (Thompson) Adland," and she is said to have died two years before her husband (24). Six of their children grew to maturity and three were living in 1895 (?) — Knud (28), Thomas (29), and Martha (26?).

According to Anderson on page 225, "A daughter [*of Mons Aadland, 24*] Martha [*M. Monsdatta, 26*] . . . married the Lutheran minister, Rev. A. C. Preus, who succeeded Rev. Dietrichson on Koshkonong in Wisconsin, and later returned to Norway, where he died. The widow, Mrs. Preus, is still living [*1895*] at Horten in Norway."

Anderson on pages 285–290 quotes a sketch of Thomas, son of Mons Aadland (24), who must be T. Monsen (29), though the sketch says that he was born on August 12, 1831.

For O. H. Hisdahe (32), Anderson on page 198 gives "Hisdal," with no initials.

The later history of Nils Frøland (33) is given by Anderson on page 223. He died in 1873.

Anderson on page 223, writing of a visit he paid near Norway, La Salle County, Illinois, in August, 1894, says: "I found Nils Fröland's widow, Anna [*A. Vilhelmsdatter, 34*], still living. She was then 95 years old, being born March 24, 1798."

According to Anderson on page 178, "Lars Fruland [*L. Nielson, 36*] came with his father, Nels Fruland, in 1837"

to La Salle County. Norlie on page 139 says, "Lars Fruland, born March 15, 1831, is still alive [*1925*] and resides at Newark, Illinois, spry as a man of 60, in spite of his 96 years of hard labor."

Flom on page 336, writing of the settlement in Spring Prairie, Dane County, Wisconsin, says: "In the spring of 1846 Peder Fröland [*P. L. Froland, 38*] who had come to America in 1837 came up there from La Salle County"; and on page 334 he says, "In 1847 Peder Fröland . . . and Ole Jone, both from Hardanger, became the founders of the Hardanger Settlement there."

K. V. Tysland (39) may be the unmarried man on the "Ægir" named Tösseland, whose initials historians do not give. Or perhaps it is Knut W. Tysland, who, according to Flom on page 355, located at Newark, Illinois, in 1838, or the Knut Tysland of Beaver Creek mentioned by Anderson on page 368.

Flom on page 100 refers to the eleven persons numbered 41 to 51 on the list and implies that they came from Vikør. He gives some of the names more fully than does the manifest.

Anderson on pages 197 and 342–345 correctly speaks of Amund (Anderson) Rossaland, as well as Anders Rosseland. On 166 and following pages he gives an account of Amund Rossaland, his wife (G. Ellingsdatter, 42), his sons Elling and Endre (E. Amundsen, 44, 45), and his daughter Anna (A. Amands, 43). Anna married Tönnes Tollefson ("Den Norske Klippe" 55).

Sjur E. Rosseland (46) and Svein L. Midthus (Mithus, 47) are mentioned by Flom on page 100 as emigrants from Vikør.

Anderson on pages 166 and 343 mentions Lars Scheie (48) and his family (49-51) in connection with Amund Anderson, with Rossaland (41) and his family, and with Bjørn Anderson ("Norden" 57) and his family. On page 344 he gives the daughters' names as "Gyri" and "Anna." On page 175

Flom, following Anderson, gives "Lars Scheie," but on page 100 he writes "Lars G. Skeie."

Anderson mentions frequently Magne Bottolfson Bystöl(en) (M. B. Bystölen, 56). The land records quoted by Anderson on page 354 spell the name "Magany Buttelson." He settled in Wisconsin.

In the case of K. H. Nordviig (68) we find again a name mentioned by the historians, though they give no initial for this unmarried Nordvig.

Ole Rynning (72) from Trondhjem *Amt*, a college graduate, was one of the more influential members of the party.[24]

A. C. Stange (73) from Germany was the only passenger not from Norway.

Nils P. Langeland (77) settled with his family in Detroit, according to Anderson on page 224. Flom on pages 97 and 99 speaks of him as a school teacher from Samnanger, already an elderly man, whose work for popular education had been thwarted by the clergy. It is said that he was influenced to emigrate by a visit to Knud Slogvig ("Norden" 92) and that he was largely influential in leading his own neighbors to migrate in 1837.

"ENIGHEDEN"

The name of this bark is spelled "Enigheten" in the manifest, dated September 14, 1837. The tonnage is not given Its ninety-one passengers are numbered on the left margin of the manifest. Flom on page 96 and Norlie on page 137 give ninety-three as the number of passengers. Of the voyage and of the first part of the passengers' experience in America some information is available. Anderson gives an account on page 196, and on 229 and following pages he quotes an account from the lips of Malinda Nelson (*née* Danielson, 86), who came over in the ship at the age of ten. The voyage, she

[24] For accounts of Rynning see Anderson, 202-218; Blegen, in *Minnesota History Bulletin*, 2:221 ff. (November, 1917); and Blegen, *Rynning's True Account*.

says, occupied eleven weeks and three days.[25] From New York the immigrants went up the Hudson to Albany, thence by the canal to Rochester, where they stopped several days, thence to Buffalo, and then on by the lakes to Chicago. From Chicago many of them went immediately to Norway, Illinois. Of their stay at Rochester a few sentences from a letter of Martha Larson, dated October 11, 1837, give a clear picture: "About two weeks ago there arrived from ninety to a hundred people. They stayed at our house and my brother's [*Ole Johnson Eie's*] house about a week, and we furnished meals for nearly all of them. Most of them have now gone to Illinois. Knud Eye [*Knud Olsen Eie, 23*] with family and Endre Aragebo [*Endré Osmunden Aagagerh, 69?*] were the last to leave." [26]

Of the following list several persons have already been definitely known by historians as passengers on "Enigheden." Flom, for example, following Anderson, on page 96 mentions as among its passengers the persons numbered on the list 1, 5, 23, 38, 43, 84, and their families. But, though assigned to "Enigheden," neither Thomas A. Thompson, mentioned by Anderson on page 227 and by Flom on page 114, nor Hans Barlien, whom Flom names on page 108 and Norlie on page 138, can be identified with names on the manifest, not to mention other immigrants assigned to this year. On page 96 Flom speaks of the passengers as "for the most part from Tysvær and Hjelmeland, and Aardal in Ryfylke, from the city of Stavanger, and from Egersund."

<District of New-York — Port of New-York.>

<I,> Jens Pedersen <do solemnly, sincerely, and truly> swear <that the following List or Manifest of Passengers, sub-

[25] The voyage lasted seventy-three days, according to the marine notice published in the *United States Gazette*, September 16, 1837, which gives the following: "New York, September 15, Ar. Norwegian barque, Enegheden, Pedersen, Norway, 73 days."

[26] Martha Larson's letter is in *Decorah-Posten*, December 12, 1924, and a translation of part of it may be found in the *American Scandinavian Review*, 13 : 361 ff. (June, 1925).

scribed with my name, and now delivered by me to the Collector of the Customs for the District of New-York, contains, to the best of my knowledge and belief, a just and true account of all the Passengers received on board the> Barque Enigheden <whereof I am Master, from> Stavanger
[*blank in MS*] <to the> 14 Sept <18> 37 <.> J. PEDERSEN
Before me, <JAS CAMPBELL> Dy Col
<List or Manifest of all the Passengers taken on board the> Brig Enigheten <whereof> Jens Pederson <is Master, from> Stavanger <burthen> [*blank in MS*] <tons.>

	NAMES	AGE YRS. MOS.	SEX	OCCUPATION
1	Osten Knudsen Espeland	22	male	farmer
2	Siri Houlsdatter	18	female	
3	Swent Ostensen	½	male	
4	Lars Larsen Narrwig	21	male	do
5	Hans Olsen Velde	23	male	do
6	Berthe Olddatter do	22	female	
7	Ole Hansen do	¼	———	
8	Jacob Pertersen Eike	33	male	do
9	Siri Jonas Datter do	39	do	do
10	Bertha Christendatter	14		do
11	Karin Christendatter	12	do	do
12	Forber Christen Datter	8		
13	Peder Jacobsen Datter	1	"	do
14	Niels Olsen Osterlen (?)	50	male	do
15	Elisabeth Beerdatter	40	male	do
16	Elen Neilsdatter do	18	female	
17	Berthe do	16	do	do
18	Oele Nielsen	13(?)	male	do
19	Enig do	9	"	do
20	Neils Tobias do	7	"	do
21	Berent Elias do	4		
22	Magreth Meve Nielsdatter	1	female	do
23	Knud Olsen Eie	50	male	Seaman
24	Merthe Eie	(?)	female	do
25	John Knudsen	9	male	
26	Ole do	6	male	
27	Andreas do	3	male	
28	Elen Knudsdatter	1 ½	female	
29	Samuel Thoralsen Tjiel	22	male	farmer

	Names	Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation
30	Aadne Biornsdatte Bratted	20		female	do
31	Borgilde Petterdatter	48		male	do
32	Raier Olsen Oserhaus	60		male	do
33	Osmund Danielsen Walde	39		male	do
34	Inger Reier Datter do	26		"	do
35	Danielsen Walde	3	½	"	do
36	Peter Jacobsen do	17			
37	Siri Osmund Datter	6			do
38	Christen Danielsen Walde	42		male	do
39	Merthe Thordatter do	29		female	do
40	Daniel Christian do	14		"	"
41	Jacob do	11		———	
42	Christen do	2	½	"	do
43	Ole Thorbiorns	17		male	farmer
44	Osmund Guterensen (?) Ahling	49		male	do
45	Berthe Mathias do	39		female	do
46	Erik Osmond do	11		male	
47	Guttorn do	10		do	
48	Osmundir (?) do	6		do	
49	Merye Osmund' Datter	9		female	
50	Anne	3			
51	Guttron (?) Erichsen Overzland (?)	24		male	do
52	Thorborn Torsen Magreth	28		female	do
53	Bion Jorgensen Hellestad	45			
54	Ragnilde Olsdatter	35			
55	Ane				
56	Ane Lovdatter Shenbove (?)	40		male	
57	Halvor Halversen	9		female	do
58	Elen Halvordatter	12		do	do
59	J. J Johanisen	28		male	Portrait-painter
60	Hewis (?) Ostedahl	20			blacksmith
61	Rasmus Dahl (?)	20		male	shoemaker
62	Even Johansen Me(sk?)eeveg	49		male	farmer
63	Malene Johndatter	30		do	do
64	Johannes Evenson	5	½	do	do
65	Jane do	4			do
66	Even do	1	¾	do	do
67	Siri Evendatter	15		do	do
68	Inger Evensdatter	13		do	do
69	Endré Osmunden Aagagerh	33		male	Glazier

	Names	Age Yrs.	Mos.	Sex	Occupation
70	Stine Olsdatter	40		female	do
71	Ase do	44		do	do
72	Siri do	33		male	
73	Magdale Knudsdatter	30		do	do
74	Ole Endersen	3	½		do
75	Bolte Randine Endersedatter	5			
76	Herman Osmunde Auga(s?)	20		male	do
77	Barbro Halverdatter Breth	28		male	
78	Ole Pierson	33		do	do
79	Ane Baersen	31		do	do
80	Soren Oelsen	6			
81	Atleethe Oldendatter	3		do	do
82	Rachel do	1			
83	Lars Pedar Reierssoen	24		do	porter
84	Knud Danielson Wallen	36		do	farmer
85	Siri Oldatter	33		do	do
86	Malene Daniel datter	10		do	do
87	Daniel Knudzen	6		do	do
88	Aase Knuds datter	4		do	do
89	Ane do	1		do	do
90	Bergethe Merie Cederberg	29		do	servant
91	Matheas Osmund	1		do	do

J. Pedersen

According to Anderson on page 219, Osten Espeland (1) came from Hjelmeland in Norway. At Detroit he left most of the other immigrants, went by rail to Adrian, Michigan, and settled near there in Lenawee County. Later he moved to the Fox River settlement. After his death his widow remarried and was still living in 1895.

Lars Larsen Narvig (Narrwig, 4) was perhaps a brother of Ingebrigt Larsen (Ingebret Larson) Narvig, a Quaker who came from Tysvær in 1831 and who is frequently mentioned by Anderson. Two of Ingebrigt's brothers, according to Anderson on page 220, were for a time with him, Osten Espeland (1) and Hans Valder (Hans Olsen Velde, 5), at the settlement in Lenawee County, Michigan. It is possible that A. H. Nordvig ("Ægir" 15) was the other brother in spite

of the initial "H." There is also another Nordvig on the lists, K. H. Nordviig ("Ægir" 68). Flom on page 101 gives Ingebrigt's surname as "Nordvig." But there is another Lars L. Narrevig ("Norden" 107), unless we suppose that he was the same individual and had returned to Norway.

Anderson gives a biographical sketch of Hans (Olsen) Valder (Vælde, Velde, 5) on pages 219-222, with a photograph opposite page 219. He was born at Vælde in Vats Parish, October 18, 1813, and taught school at Tysver. He, like Espeland (1) and Narvig (4), did not accompany the bulk of the passengers to Chicago, but went from Detroit to Lenawee County, Michigan.

The names 9 to 13 were probably those of a man and his wife accompanied by three children of her deceased husband (Christen) and one child of her present husband (Jacob, 8).

The last syllable of the name "Osterlen" (14) is very doubtful. It may possibly be "Osterboe."

Knud Olson (Olsen) Eie (23) had the same name as that of an early companion of Cleng Peerson, though it may be doubtful that the voyagers of 1821 and 1837 were the same, according to Anderson on page 62. The one of 1821 came from Eide on the island of Fogn, near Stavanger, from which also at least two of the sloopers came, as well as Ole Thorbiorns (Eie, 43) of the present list. Little is known of his later life.

Christopher Danielson (Valle) (Christen Danielsen Walde, 38) came from Aarland in Stavanger *Amt*, settled in Mission Township, La Salle County, Illinois, and died of cholera in 1849. Apparently Merthe Thordatter (39) was his second wife and after her death he married the widow of Knud Danielsen Wallen (85). His age on the manifest does not agree with the date of his birth, 1780, given by Anderson on page 222.

Christopher (Christen) Danielsen (42) is apparently the correspondent whom Anderson mentions on pages 151 and

223. Anderson's index does not distinguish the son from his father, who had the same name (38). In 1895, according to Anderson, he was residing at Sheridan, Illinois. He had come in "Enigheden" as a small boy and he later married Ann, a daughter of Osmund Thomasen, who had come to America with her father in 1836.

Ole Thorbiorns (43) must be Ole Thompson (Thorbjørnson) Eide, named by Anderson on pages 60, 176, and 196 as a passenger on "Enigheden." He was living at Sheridan, Illinois, in 1895. Mrs. Larson in the letter quoted above wrote: "Ole Torbiornson Eye staid with us as long as he was in Rochester. It gave me great joy to do good to him whose father treated me and my old mother so ill, which I can never forget as long as I live. But I wish that he might be converted. I am willing to forgive him if God is." [27]

Anderson on page 398 speaks of a Bjørn Hatlestad (Bion Jorgensen Hellestad, 53?) who came to America about 1836, held religious services for a time after his arrival in the Kendall settlement, and died in Dane County, Wisconsin, about 1880. It is not at all certain that Hatlestad was the passenger Hellestad (53).

It is tempting to identify the Me(sk?)ewig family (62-68) with "Even Askvig," who, according to Flom on page 115, came to America in 1837 from Hjelmeland Parish with his wife and family and lived successively in Indiana, Illinois, Texas, and Iowa. The spelling on the manifest is not quite clear.

[27] *Decorah-Posten*, December 12, 1924. The next sentence, accidentally omitted in the publication of the letter, reads: "Hans Ladegaard also staid with us." This name it is natural to regard as belonging to one of the same set of immigrants passing through Rochester, but it is not to be found on our lists. Besides the Norwegians arriving in 1836 and 1837 on these four vessels, there was probably the usual scattered migration through other channels, especially on Swedish ships from Gothenburg. By the route last named a group of Norwegians reached New York in August, 1836.

In spite of the difference in spelling of the surname, Endré Osmunden Aagagerh (69) must be the Endre Aragebo to whom Martha Larson in her letter refers definitely as a member of this contingent.[28] Likewise Anderson on page 410 mentions Endre and Herman Osmundson Aaragerbö as Lutheran laymen who preached in America before 1843.

Possibly Herman Osmunde Auga(s?) (76) is the Herman Osmundson Aaragerbö mentioned in the preceding note. Flom on page 94 says that Herman Aarag Osmond, born near Stavanger, 1818, also came to America in 1836, and tells of his subsequent history and settlement at Newark, Illinois. The dates do not quite fit this passenger (76). On page 355 Flom refers to Herman Osmonson and Knut W. Tysland ("Ægir" 39) as settling in Newark in 1838.

Ole Pierson's (78) name is too common to identify him without further information. An Ole Peerson is mentioned by Anderson on page 394 among the first settlers in Bosque County, Texas.

A statement of Malinda Danielson (Malene Danieldatter, 86) is given in substance by Anderson on page 229. The family came from Aurdal, Norway. Her mother's (Siri Oldatter's, 85) maiden name was Sara Olson. Knud Danielson (Knud Danielson Wallen, 84) died in 1838, and his widow married Christopher Danielson (38). Malinda was born on September 29, 1827. Anderson gives her photograph opposite page 228.

[28] *Decorah-Posten*, December 12, 1924.

IMMIGRATION AS VIEWED BY A NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN FARMER IN 1869

A Letter Translated and Edited by
Jacob Hodnefield

INTRODUCTION

The letter of which the following is a translation was written by Ole Spillum of North Cape, Wisconsin, on January 8, 1869, to the bailiff (*lendsmand*) of his home district in Norway, one Jörgen Havig. Spillum emigrated from Overhalden, Namsos, Trondhjem diocese, Norway, in 1845 or 1846, and located at North Cape, Racine County, Wisconsin, in the well-known Muskego settlement.

The letter appears to have been written in answer to one by the bailiff requesting Spillum to collect an account from a certain Guldvig, a late immigrant. After an introduction concerning a group of immigrants from Namsos, Spillum relates his experiences in trying to locate Guldvig and describes the procedure which finally brought some information of his whereabouts. In doing this, and also later on in the letter, he takes occasion to describe American conditions and tell about the affairs of Norwegian immigrants.

A more argumentative portion of the letter concerns emigration as a public question in Norway, and here he writes with some vigor and takes issue with the bailiff, who evidently has expressed himself in favor of a restriction of emigration. To strengthen his argument he introduces comparisons with Germany and England and comments on the fact that in those countries emigration has not produced evil effects. An interesting portion of his letter is his mention of Svein Nilsson and a number of pioneer Norwegian publications.

The discussion throughout is intelligent and reveals a wide knowledge of affairs both in this country and abroad. And,

although he leaves a sentence or two incomplete, the language is better than would be expected of a farmer in a pioneer community. It is not unusual, however, to find good letter writers among the Norwegian immigrants of the period.

The original of the letter — a gift of Mr. Ingeman Ranum of St. Paul — is to be found in the manuscript division of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Ole Spillum to Jörgen Havig, January 8, 1869

[Minnesota Historical Society MSS. — A. L. S.]

North Cape, Wisconsin 8 January 1869

To Bailiff Jörgen Havig

I received your letters of March 25 and May 7 last year long before the Namsos ship landed in America, as it had a long journey. The only people I have met of the whole company are Christian Rikammeren and the wife of a peasant and her son from Namdalseidet. I inquired diligently concerning Gabriel Berre. They knew he had been on the ship but did not know where he had purposed to go or whither he went.

I know nothing of where either Gabriel or Otte Vemunvig are. Only from your letters do I know that they are in America. Neither did I know that there was a descendant of old Guldvig in this country before I read it in your letter. I immediately began to inquire among the Namdalings whom I met; and all had heard the report that he was dead, but no one knew where he had died, neither did they know whence this report had its origin.

Finally Oluf Joelsen Aune was able to tell me that when he made a trip through northeastern Iowa, northwestern Wisconsin, and southeastern Minnesota in 1866 he had met this Guldvig in the little town of Lansing on the Mississippi in the northeastern corner of Iowa. They slept together that night, and Guldvig complained of his chest and coughed almost all night. (I think this must have given occasion for the report that he was dead.) Guldvig had nothing to do at that time but spoke of going where he could find government land in order to take a piece under the homestead law and engage in vine-culture.

Altho vine-culture is almost the most profitable agriculture in America, provided soil and climate are agreeable, for one who has never before seen a cultivated grape grow I would rather advise planting potatoes, as thereby he would at least get a surer crop; at least such is the case on the east side of the Rocky Mountains; on the west side, however, soil and climate are said to be especially adapted for vine-culture.

Students and such as do not relish heavy work nearly always call at our pastor's in case there may be a parochial school position or something of that sort whereby they may earn a little money. Thus I inquired of our minister, Christian Hvistendahl, if he had met this Guldvig at any synod or other gathering; but he knew nothing of him. I then had Pastor Hvistendahl inquire for him at the conference for western ministers which was to be held the last part of October in Red Wing in Minnesota; where Pastor Frick, minister to the Norwegian Lutheran congregations in LaCrosse and vicinity, said that he had taken up land in Harrison County, Iowa, and that his post office was Dunlap, and as far as he knew he lived there yet. His address is consequently Dunlap, Harrison County, Iowa.

If he has become a pioneer, there is probably not much money to be expected from him during the first seasons; but yet I wrote to him during the first days in November; and, as I feared he would suspect that I had a commission from you to carry out, I said nothing about the matter but only inquired concerning the prospects for immigrants at that place, and when I had entered into his confidence I would propose my errand later. I asked for an answer as soon as possible, but I have not received any nor do I think I shall receive any. Still I am almost certain that he received my letter, as according to the postal law the writer has a right to put on the letter: "If not called for within 20 days, please return to O. Spillum, North Cape, Wis.," that is, "If not called for in 20 days please return to," etc. I put 20 days as I thought perhaps he had a long way to the post office and thus would not visit it often, but I have received nothing of one thing or another.

Harrison County is one of the boundary counties of Iowa on the west side of the state where the Missouri River, which here

runs almost directly north and south, divides Nebraska from Iowa. Harrison County is about 70 miles from Iowa's southern boundary and about 120 from the northern boundary and about 20 miles north of the city of Council Bluffs on the Iowa side and Omaha on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, where the Pacific railway comes through and crosses the river on a bridge. According to reports, the railway will be ready from ocean to ocean next summer.

Before I leave Iowa I wish to say that one of the largest, if not the largest, Norwegian settlement in America is found in the northeastern part of this state,—the counties of Winneshiek, Allamakee, Howard, Mitchell, Fayette, and adjoining counties. In the first of these is located the thriving town of Decorah, whose population is said to be mostly Norwegian. This settlement is something more than 200 miles northeast of Harrison County. As a continuation of this colony is the Norwegian settlement in southeastern Minnesota in the counties of Houston, Fillmore, Mower, Freeborn, Olmsted, Winona, and others. Here are many from Indherred and Namdalen. I wish to observe that I have taken the geographic locations as well as the distances from the map, as my foot has never trod Iowa's soil, nevertheless I consider them reliable.

In regard to emigration I am not in entire accord with you. While I must praise your patriotism highly I cannot share fully your view that a prohibition of emigration would be beneficial to Norway at the present time. One hears complaints from all sides in regard to the increasing burden of poor support, and this seems to indicate that there is not profitable employment for all. I know of only two remedies for this evil: one is to create work for those who do not find remunerative employment in agriculture, fishing, marine commerce, and trade; and the other is emigration; for it will avail little in many cases to fold your hands and await the direct aid of God, as then God has given us our reason and sense to little or no purpose if we will not use them for the service of ourselves and our fellow men. Nor am I persuaded that the emigrants lately have removed a considerable amount of capital from Norway, and I find no cause to think that they will do so in the future. Most of them do not have more than

enough to pay transportation, and the Norwegian ships earn that, for the most part, for carrying them across the ocean; indeed, it is not seldom that some of them get money sent to them from friends in America to put into the pockets of the Norwegian ship proprietors to take these people across the ocean. If a person in addition takes into consideration that, even if the larger part of those who go to America are poor, they nevertheless consume not a little foreign luxuries such as tobacco, coffee, sugar, and so on, without producing a corresponding amount of products which the foreigner needs, there is thus a shortage according to customary calculation. The little sum of money which the emigrants have left after their traveling expenses are covered would not be enough by far for these luxuries for their lifetime, and Norway will thus get a smaller bill from the foreigner by getting rid of this consuming member of society.

To attempt to curb emigration by shrewdly contrived newspaper articles or similar means would in my opinion make the bad worse; for ever since the days of Eve the human race seems to have been contaminated with the sin of being contrary, even if it is to their own corruption.

If history does not lie, Germany was just as terrified in the beginning as Norway is now, and still more, when large numbers of her able-bodied military men and laborers found their way across the ocean to the American colonies; for the government, besides placing in their way at home every obstruction that it could, hired correspondents in America who for pay should picture the terrible fate which the adventurous emigrant could expect; but Germany found that this rather had the opposite effect, and finally found that its strength as a nation, in physical, intellectual, or financial power, did not diminish in proportion to the country's resources but rather increased, altho every year since it has contributed not a small portion to America.

Great Britain also has continued for hundreds of years to send out thousands to all parts of the world and still the population continues to increase at home, when one excepts poor Ireland, which in spite of its rich soil continues to diminish. English politics in connection with religious restraint in relation to this island seems to be the reason why the Irishman, known for his

ignorance and quick temper, develops aversion to his ancestral soil and seeks refuge in other parts of the world. I myself have discovered that you can make a simple Irishman your friend by no quicker method than by disparaging Engish rule in Ireland. The nefarious uprisings which have taken place recently in America and in Ireland are in fact for no other purpose than that the leaders thereby may gain access to the pockets of the credulous in order to fill their own. Our government, as well as the larger part of the population, smiles at seeing John Bull tremble in his breeches upon hearing that filibuster expeditions are equipped here against his country; for people still remember very well the "Alabama" and others which this Master Bull watched so complacently when our merchant ships were destroyed in the late war.

It pleases us Norwegians in this country to learn that the old revered land of our birth had a good crop the past year, and this will doubtless result in that not so many will think of America but will find work and food at home. I have already read that the farmers among the northern mountains have begun to export grain to England and at good prices. As far as America is concerned we had last year a medium crop when the country as a whole is considered. In the northwestern states where most of the wheat is raised it was good as far as quantity is concerned, but it was rather light, as it was forced too much by the dry and warm weather we had the first part of July. The corn was generally good, the oats fair, potatoes good in some parts, in others destroyed by insects; in this neighborhood rather good. Hay, a medium crop.

My brother Henrik greets you and thanks you for the business you transacted for him. He received your letter with enclosed receipt early in the fall.

It pleases us to hear that our old aunt has not suffered anything during these hard times; but Henrik scratched his head somewhat over the fact that Amund and Sophia should have received the money under the present circumstances; for we had heard that the aged one had been all the time at Sophia's who, according to reports, is poor; but we had not considered that when times became difficult her second daughter Olea would become obliged to take her for a time. In a joking way I said to Henrik that,

if there were to be any help in it, a money order for 100 Spd., or at the least 50, from him would be the thing. He replied, likewise in semi-jest, "Well, who knows what notions I might get into my head; but if I shall fulfill my promise I guess I shall have to keep such thoughts away this year." Henrik has promised to lend a man who has bought a farm in the neighborhood 1000 dollars the latter part of the winter.

But I think likely that some time later he will burden you with a money order for some acquaintance or other who he hears is in need; for he sees that on account of his poor eyesight there are reasonable probabilities that he will become a public charge. But as fate has so decreed, he not only is satisfied and content in his condition but lives as well as any one could wish, and the best of all this is that he himself believes it and appreciates it. Consequently he is so much the more thankful to Providence that has given him all this and to the land of his birth to which he is indebted for the bodily and spiritual endowments he has received. Thus he has said of late that at some time he would provide a large amount for some object of charity in the locality of his birth, but as yet he has not arrived at any conclusion concerning what it should be used for.

Naturally he wishes that it would be used where it would do the most good, but he has not decided whether he would divide it among private persons or give it for public support; for both persons and their real circumstances, as well as conditions in special cases, begin to be strange to a person who has been away so long; and to believe the worst reports from Norway would be perhaps as senseless as to believe the most rose-colored a person hears concerning America.

The Peter M. Ansjøns are well and getting along nicely. It seems that he does not wish the money he has in Norway brought to America, at least not in the immediate future. To what use he has assigned it I do not know,—very probably he himself does not know as yet.

Svend Nilsen visited us last May; he was here then about a week. He told us that he went to America as the correspondent of *Morgenbladet*[1] in order to give reliable reports concerning

[1] A newspaper published in the Norwegian capital, Christiania.

the condition of the Norwegians in this country, which they thought were lacking there at home. At first he employed what spare time he had in writing for *Skandinaven,* a newspaper then recently started in Chicago, and later he wrote for *Emigranten,* which was printed in Madison, Wisconsin, but now he had severed his connection also with this. But when the legislature of Wisconsin last winter appropriated a sum of money in order to send a suitable person of each nationality to travel throughout the state and investigate the condition of his countrymen and prepare a report which should be sent to the country of each, Svend thereupon obtained this position for the Scandinavians, and it was on this trip that he visited us. He thus served two masters at the same time, *Morgenbladet* and Wisconsin. From the first he received three specie dollars per column and from the latter seventy-five dollars a month and free transportation on the railroads. He also had a third purpose in this trip; he wanted to publish a little illustrated weekly in Madison, Wisconsin, *Billed Magasinet,*[2] where in each number he would introduce a portion of the history of Norwegian emigration to America, for which he had gathered material on this trip. Here he brings in, in accordance with the words of the emigrants themselves, the causes which induced them to take up the pilgrim's staff and the difficulties they had to endure in their new home, and their present condition.[3] Some numbers of *Billed Magasinet* already have been issued and people seem to like it very well. Twenty-five subscriptions have been placed at North Cape already and there may be perhaps even more. There is just one newspaper that has a larger number of subscribers here, namely *Skandinaven,* which sends very nearly twice as many each week to us here at North Cape.

In spite of the fact that money has not increased in Svend's pockets since he came to America, but rather diminished, nevertheless he has high ideas concerning this country; so much so that I had to observe that the aged *Morgenblad* would hardly digest such opinions, especially as long as it retained the opinions that it has had hitherto concerning America and its institutions; neither

[2] Two volumes of this magazine were published from 1868 to 1870.

[3] These articles are among the most important sources of information on the early Norwegian immigration and its causes.

could one expect anything else as long as it remained an admirer of the aristocratic *London Times*. He replied that he had a free hand and would write according to his own convictions and if *Morgenbladet* was not satisfied therewith they would have to dismiss him.

My brother Michal with wife and four children are healthy and doing well.

You have heard perhaps that something over a year ago I lost my wife and youngest child. The remaining four children and I are well and are dragging along with time as best we may according to circumstances.

Conditions of health have been generally good for a long time so that it is seldom we hear that anyone is sick.

I had a letter recently from the Geisness people. Old Aunt Ane, the widow of John Andersen Berre, died last fall. Lorents P. Flak had been sick for a long time but was at that time better, and the wife of Andreas Halvorsen also was sick last summer but better at that time. Carl Halvorsen is said to be on the road to become a rich farmer.

Greet your brother Andreas Havig, also Christian Havig; and you and your family are hereby greeted by yours ever obedient,

OLE SPILLUM.

THE NORWEGIAN PIONEER IN THE FIELD OF AMERICAN SCHOLARSHIP

By Laurence M. Larson

Ninety years ago a small group of Norwegian immigrants came straggling into northern Illinois and began to establish a frontier community in the valley of the Fox River. They were the advance party of a mighty host which for nearly a century has been pouring its strength into the great Northwest. The little Fox River settlement was doubtless very much like any other pioneer community; but it had a unique importance, for it was the beginning of a new Norwegian colonial movement, which in the course of two generations pushed the boundaries of settlement northward and westward from the Great Lakes to the upper Missouri. Here the movement was checked for a time by the broad stretches of the arid lands; but it soon broke through the barrier and continued the process of expansion to the shores of Puget Sound.

The history of this movement is a chapter in the wonderful story of the American pioneer, a race of sturdy adventurers with strong hands and strong souls, who conquered and built the American West. The life of the frontiersman is a fascinating theme, but it is one with which this paper is not concerned. The task assigned in this instance is far less romantic: it is to bring a measure of tribute to another class of pioneers, — to the men and women of Norwegian blood who have devoted their energies to the cause of learning, who have sought and found careers in the field of intellectual achievement.

In a certain sense a scholar is nearly always a pioneer. Whether he toils in the quiet atmosphere of archives or laboratories, or seeks to penetrate the mysteries of life as it unfolds itself in the great outdoors, his work is essentially pioneering. The scholar loves to travel on the advancing frontiers of

truth. His delight is to explore the wonders of a new land. He finds his happiness in breaking new ground, in tilling new soil. For his is a great calling: to him is given the duty to maintain and to extend the boundaries of the many kingdoms that belong to the human mind.

In the summer of 1925 American citizens of Norwegian birth or ancestry gathered in sundry places to take proper note of the fact that a full century had passed since the first shipload of Norse emigrants had sailed forth to build new homes in the western world. On these occasions a prominent question was always this: What have we Americans of the Norwegian race accomplished in these hundred years? The answer to this question can be found in many places, perhaps most conveniently in Norlie's encyclopedic *History of the Norwegian People in America*, a product of the enthusiasm of the centennial year. No doubt one could continue to write in more detail of what success our people have attained in business, in politics, in art, in the field of religion, or even in professional life; but these subjects lie without the limits of the present survey. There is, however, a series of questions that are not so frequently asked and have never been adequately answered; to these the writer wishes to address himself. What have we achieved in the field of American scholarship? What share have we had in the promotion of knowledge? What important discoveries have we made and published? What recognition have we received in the gilds of scientific thought?

When one belongs to a people who take pride in blunt frankness and honesty of speech, one cannot avoid saying in reply to these questions that we have not yet won the recognition for scientific achievement that seemingly should be ours. The Norwegian element in the New World is not without prominent scholars and brilliant men; but the number of those who have attained a wider fame in the republic of science is not yet appreciably great. Having said this, one should hasten to add, however, that this state of affairs is exactly what one

should expect to find. It must not be forgotten that the Norse-Americans, as an immigrant people, have had all the handicaps of an alien folk. Nevertheless, it can be safely affirmed that among the so-called alien groups, excepting only such as have come from lands where English is spoken, the Norwegian element stands well to the front in almost every field of the national life. Until we shall have become adjusted to the intellectual environment within which we move, we cannot, of course, expect to compete with the native element on equal terms. But the Norse virtue of persistence has begun to show results. A splendid body of young citizens bearing Norwegian names is actively engaged in the pursuit of learning in all the great universities throughout the land, and the years to come are full of promise.

One often wonders why Norwegian intellect has come so late into the competition; but the reason is, after all, easily found. It must be remembered first of all that one hundred years ago the Norwegian people was not homogeneous either in race or in culture. The rural element was still Norwegian like the very soil itself, while those who lived in the cities were largely of a mixed race. Names like Grieg, Michelet, Obstfelder, Dass, and Konow, to name a few only, testify to origins that were not Norwegian or even Scandinavian. In the course of the nineteenth century these two elements were fused into a fairly homogeneous nationality; that process had scarcely begun, however, when the sloop-folk set out to sea. To a large extent the new Norway of the great West has drawn its population from the peasant class. The Norwegian farmers were not without culture, but their culture was that of the countryside. Their thoughts were rooted in the older civilization, in a vast body of customs and practices and beliefs, among which there was little room for the higher forms of modern scholarship.

Through all its history the peasant class had loved the land: the soil gave home and sustenance and sometimes even wealth;

but it also gave the owner his name and his social position. Now the immigrants had come to a country where farms could be had almost for the asking. Thus they naturally followed the advance of rural settlement over the beckoning prairies of the free land. It was only when the supply of good free land had been exhausted that the children of the pioneer began to make large use of educational opportunities. Meanwhile, they were helping to build an empire in the New World. To this work they contributed thought and energy and active leadership, but their efforts were chiefly directed toward material ends. Wrestling with nature and struggling with poverty, they found but little time or strength to spare for study, and they saw but little value in any form of knowledge that was not directly related to their personal tasks or duties as farmers and citizens.

It is also important to observe that such intellectual interest as the Norwegian pioneer did possess was centered largely in the church. He recognized but one distinctly honorable profession, that of the Lutheran ministry; his chief joy was to listen to the preaching of a gifted son. There was, of course, the law; but to the Norwegian farmer's mind the lawyer was usually an educated trickster who found much profit and took keen pleasure in foreclosing mortgages and prosecuting unfortunate debtors. Nevertheless, a relatively large number of young Norsemen have entered the legal profession and have shared in its rewards, though the number of those who have risen to eminence is not great.

For some time the Northern immigrants found it necessary to recruit a corps of trained leaders in the mother country, but most of those who came to the settlements with university degrees belonged to the clerical profession. It is quite clear that many of these would, under more favorable circumstances, have developed into real scholars; however, the task of a clergyman in pioneer days and under frontier conditions was too arduous to allow him much rest from the common duties of a pastor's life.

Furthermore, such energies as could be spared, the theologians on the frontier too often gave to religious controversy. For more than fifty years there raged throughout the Norwegian settlements a series of conflicts that can be classified only as theological warfare. Almost the earliest memories of the writer are concerned with what was supposed to be religious discussion but was certainly not conceived in the spirit of holiness. One should scarcely need to argue that the things that belong to the intellectual life cannot flourish in an atmosphere of wrath. The contending parties did, indeed, establish higher schools; these, however, for a long time dragged out a pitiful existence, not only because their patrons were poor, but because their faculties were frequently torn with strife.

It is not particularly pleasant to dwell on these developments in the history of our people, but they must not be overlooked, for they help to explain why the Norse competitor has come so tardily into the arena of American scholarship. There have always been those, however, who have cherished the great thought that some day all these warring factions would be fused into a single unity living at peace with itself and with the rest of the world. Time came when this thought began to be realized, and the cause of scholarship has profited greatly by the progressive union of Norwegian churches. By this union of effort it has become possible to enlarge, to rebuild, and to reorganize the Norwegian-American colleges so as to give them a wider usefulness, a greater efficiency, and a higher possibility in the training of young men and women.

Scholars are of many kinds; but for present purposes it may be sufficiently accurate to classify them under two heads: those who find their chief satisfaction in working with the knowledge that the race has already acquired, and those whose ambitions prompt them to search for new knowledge where no one has searched before. The former is the larger and in some respects the more influential group. It includes the great majority of those who give instruction in the higher schools.

They are the men and the women to whom society has entrusted the treasures of civilization. Their special duty is not to enlarge the kingdom of knowledge but to maintain it and to keep its boundaries unimpaired. It is a great duty and a vital task.

While it is quite true that not all teachers are scholars, one finds in the teaching profession many of the choicest minds, grand souls who have drunk deep from Mimir's fount. Of such scholars our Norwegian citizenry has produced its full quota. We find them in schools and colleges, in educational institutions of every grade. Many have remained in the Northwest among their own people; many others have gone forth into other sections, till to-day men and women of Norwegian ancestry are giving instruction in nearly all the important colleges of the land.

It would not be possible to list the names of even the outstanding men and women who belong in this group. But there is one name that the writer feels called upon to give prominent mention, the name of a man whose work as a teacher has been peculiarly important. It is the privilege of certain teachers to possess the gift of power and insight needed not only to instruct their classes but to inspire the individual student with faith in his chosen profession and to give him the sort of encouragement that youth so frequently needs. The writer has sat in the classroom of such a man, he has been allowed to share his knowledge, his faith, his enthusiasm, and he takes this opportunity to acknowledge a personal debt (and many others will surely join in this) to Professor Julius E. Olson of the University of Wisconsin, who for more than forty years has kept the fires lit on the altar of Norsedom, thus having gained a primacy which all should be glad to acknowledge.

The scholars of the second group are less concerned with teaching; they find their chief interest in research. One should not say that research is necessarily a higher function, for one

may be a scholar of the finest type without indulging the passion for scientific investigation. Nevertheless, research is of vital importance, for out of research comes progress. The Norwegian citizens of the great Republic who have won real distinction as productive scholars form a relatively small body; but among them are men who in their particular fields of learning have gained the recognition that comes only with the production of a masterpiece.

Scholarship of the productive type began to show its first signs of life among us in 1874, when Rasmus B. Anderson published his first book, *America not Discovered by Columbus*. In the course of the following decade Anderson published a series of volumes, most of which deal with subjects of interest to the reader of history, and all of which called for a certain measure of historical investigation. Anderson's work is distinctly of the pioneer type; it is not always critical and the author is sometimes too aggressive in stating the rights and the achievements of the Norwegian people. But in their own day his writings were of first importance, for they broke new ground and turned the thoughts of American investigators toward fields of which they had only the slightest knowledge.

There may be those who would affirm that the real pioneer in the realm of Norse-American culture was not the enthusiastic and somewhat belligerent citizen of Madison but the more refined and peaceful inhabitant of New York, Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen. Boyesen wrote his *Gunnar* before Anderson had finished his study of the Vinland voyages, but the two books came from the press in the same year. Moreover, *Gunnar* is a story, and, as literature is generally classed among the arts, it does not belong within the limits of this discussion.

Boyesen's contributions to scholarship in the more specific sense were very slight. His essays have the excellence of form which one should expect to find in the writings of a literary artist, but they do not always reveal either insight or penetration. His right to honorable mention in a survey of this sort is derived chiefly from the fact that in a tactful and fairly

effective manner he directed the attention of the American public to the culture of the Northland and to its claims to serious study.

In 1876, two years after the publication of Anderson's and Boyesen's first books, the cause of scholarship received new impetus by the establishment of Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Graduate work had, indeed, been attempted elsewhere; — the first Norwegian to receive the doctorate in philosophy was Anton B. Sander, who took this degree at Yale in 1877; still, it is generally agreed that organized graduate study in America really dates from the opening year of Johns Hopkins University. The founding of this new institution with its emphasis on individual study in seminars and laboratories worked almost a revolution in university work. Graduate schools were soon founded elsewhere in considerable numbers; and among the young men who entered upon advanced study in these institutions were several from the Norwegian settlements in the West.

Very few of these earlier Norse scholars, however, made any distinct impression on the learned gilds of the land. Too often they were forced to seek positions in the newer West, where facilities for serious research were uniformly poor. Albert E. Egge, whose training had prepared him for fruitful investigation along linguistic lines, ended his labors in the Agricultural College at Pullman, Washington. Agnes Mathilde Wergeland wasted her splendid talents on the desert air of Wyoming. Andrew Fossum gave his energies to the service of his countrymen in the classrooms of St. Olaf College at a time when effective teaching was the only need to which the college authorities were able to give an adequate recognition. Olaus Dahl was called from Yale to a more promising environment at the University of Chicago; but death overtook him when his task was scarcely begun.

And so the nineteenth century closed without much promise. When Marquis began to publish *Who's Who,* in 1899, he found only about a dozen Norwegians who had achieved some-

thing more than a mere provincial prominence. In the whole list there was only one man, Rasmus B. Anderson, who could qualify as a productive scholar. There were splendid names in the list, those of Storm Bull, the engineer, Georg Sverdrup, the intellectual chieftain of Augsburg Seminary, and Laur. Larsen, the venerable president of Luther College, all of whom might have become eminent in scholarship but had found their careers in other fields of work.

Times change, however, and sometimes they change for the better. The last twenty-five years have witnessed a tremendous advance in productive scholarship, and in this advance the children of the Norse immigrant have had their share. Fifty years ago the Norwegian pioneer had produced two books that an American scholar might care to read. To-day there is almost a library of books and pamphlets written by Norwegian-American authors in the English language. In his last volume Marquis has included sketches of at least 140 persons of Norwegian birth or blood. This is a little more than one-half of one percent of the entire number included. In view of the fact that the Norwegian element can scarcely comprise more than one or at most one and one-half percent of the entire population of the United States, and in view of the further fact that it includes only two generations of native-born American citizens, this is a most impressive showing. The list is, of course, drawn from a variety of occupations; but the academic professions have a highly respectable representation.

One would naturally conclude that our academic citizenship would be found in greatest strength in the Northwest, where the Norse population is massed and where it is therefore able to exercise much influence in public affairs; such, however, is not the case. Strong men are, indeed, finding places in the Norwegian colleges, — men like Oscar A. Tingelstad, who teaches education at Luther College, and Julius Boraas, who holds the corresponding chair at St. Olaf. There is also a fair number of our own men in responsible positions in the various state institutions of this section. At the University of Minne-

sota Gisle Bothne and Henry A. Erikson are respectively in charge of the work in Scandinavian languages and in physics. Among the younger men at the same institution one should mention Martin B. Ruud, who has written learnedly on such subjects as Chaucer and Shakespeare. Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society is producing excellent studies in the earlier history of our people in the New World. Harold W. Foght, president of the State Normal School at Aberdeen, South Dakota, has written extensively on educational problems, particularly such as have arisen out of rural conditions. Passing to the University of Wisconsin one may mention Paul Knaplund, who has entered upon a promising career in English history, and the late F. W. Woll, who in his day was widely known as an agricultural chemist.

There are, of course, a number of other men of ability and promise who might be mentioned under this head; still, one is forced to conclude that the strongest representation of Norwegian-American intellect is to be found beyond the borders of the New Norway. Norwegian scholarship has long since burst the territorial bonds and has sent her children out into all the leading schools of the land. Harry R. Tosdal is teaching economics at Harvard University; while Theodore K. Urdahl is doing a similar service for the Quakers at Swarthmore in old Pennyslvania. A prominent student and teacher of the classics is Andrew R. Anderson of the University of Utah, whose interest also extends to problems in the literary history of the Northern peoples. John O. Evjen, whose favorite subject is church history, has to his credit a remarkable study of Norwegian immigration into old New York in the days of the Dutch régime. Among the younger devotees of political science one may note the names of Arnold J. Lien of Washington University, St. Louis; Charles E. Hill of George Washington University, Washington, D. C.; and Clarence A. Berdahl of the University of Illinois. At the University of Iowa Henning Larsen is making a name for himself as a student in the general field of Germanic philology.

In the sciences as well as in the older humanities one is able to list a number of interesting names. Martin Nelson teaches agronomy in the University of Arkansas. The field of botany is cultivated by Irving E. Melhus of Iowa State College and Aven Nelson of the University of Wyoming. John P. Munson works in general biology at Washington State Teachers' College. David A. Anderson has a chair in education at Pennsylvania State College. In the field of mathematics prominent places are held by Arthur Ranum of Cornell University, Nels J. Lennes of the University of Montana, and John A. Eiesland of the University of West Virginia. In chemistry there are men like John A. Widtsoe, sometime agricultural chemist in the University of Utah, and Arthur L. Halvorsen, who is occupied with industrial research in New York City. Metallurgy has a keen representative in Trygve Yensen of Pittsburgh.

One may continue the roll with Jorgen O. Nomland of San Francisco who has long served the Standard Oil Company as geologist; Magnus C. Ihlseng who has written extensively on mining engineering; Oscar H. Reinholt who for some time held a position as mining engineer with the federal government; J. C. M. Hanson who is in charge of the library at the University of Chicago; Torstein Jahr who is making a name for himself in the Library of Congress; John A. Gade, the New York architect, who has written brilliantly on themes in art and history; and the late John Koren of Boston who did notable work in statistics.

The list as given above cannot pretend to be either complete or even fairly inclusive; but even in its very imperfect form it should prove abundantly that Norwegian scholarship in America is no longer either narrow or provincial.

The writer regrets that in the limited space at his disposal he cannot discuss in further detail the work that these men are carrying forward; the number of scholars is too large and their interests are too varied. There is, however, another group whose achievements cannot be passed without a more particular mention. It is not a large group — the list includes only ten

names — but the men who belong to it are all eminent, each in his particular field. It is a list that needs but little explanation and probably no defense.

The Norwegian-Americans have to their credit one astronomer of the first class, John August Anderson of Pasadena, California. For a period of eight years Dr. Anderson taught astronomy at Johns Hopkins University. Since 1916 he has studied the stars at Mount Wilson observatory, where he holds the position of physicist. It will be recalled that two or three years ago Professor Michelson of Chicago published the results of a series of marvelous computations which opened new vistas in the field of astronomy; in the making of these computations Dr. Anderson had a large and important part. He is a leading authority on the subject of light.

In the field of philology there are to-day in the United States half a dozen outstanding men; — one of these is George Tobias Flom of the University of Illinois. No American scholar has searched deeper into the sources of Germanic speech than has Professor Flom. Of special value are his many studies in various forms of Northern idioms, modern as well as medieval. But Flom is more than a linguist, he is also a student of history. From studies in primitive culture he has moved forward through the Norwegian dialects to the early history of his own people in the United States. And from all these fields he has gathered a harvest.

One cannot prepare a list of this character without including the name of Knut Gjerset, professor of history at Luther College. The publication of Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People* was a major event in the annals of historical scholarship in this country. The work filled a place that had long been vacant. It superseded all earlier accounts of Norwegian history in the English language and it is likely to remain long without a serious rival. What is said of the Norwegian history applies equally to Gjerset's later *History of Iceland*, a volume which is in every respect a worthy companion to the earlier work.

In the field of medicine our most prominent figure is Ludvig Hektoen, the famous pathologist of the University of Chicago. Dr. Hektoen is known so well and so widely in the Middle West that it is unnecessary to do more than to mention his name. He has achieved eminence not only in the treatment of disease, but as lecturer, author, and editor. And his renown is wider than even the West; when the authorities of the National Research Council were casting about for a chairman to direct their medical section, they found their man in Dr. Hektoen.

Scholarship is not always a matter of books: sometimes it may find its finest expression in a great work of engineering. The writer therefore wishes to include in this group of eminent scholars a great engineer, the late Olaf Hoff, who died at Christmas time in 1924. Mr. Hoff carried to successful completion such notable undertakings as the Detroit River tunnel and the subway under the Harlem River; but what gives him a real claim to a place among productive scholars is the fact that he devised the methods and the plans that made these undertakings possible. Mr. Hoff was a citizen of New York.

Our most prolific writer seems to be Olaf Morgan Norlie of Luther College. Norlie is professor of psychology, but most of his energies are apparently devoted to the study and setting in order of historical and statistical materials relating to the Norwegian churches in America. In this case the avocation is far more important (at least for the future) than the vocation. Dr. Norlie's work differs from that of nearly all of his fellow-Norwegian scholars in that it is in large part written in the Norwegian language. Though his studies are extensive rather than intensive, their value and importance cannot be questioned.

Another writer who has displayed unusual productivity is Leonard Stejneger, who ranks as our foremost scholar in the natural sciences. Stejneger is curator of biology at the United States National Museum, a branch of the Smithsonian Institu-

tion, at Washington, D. C. He has written extensively on animal life in many lands. Like Olaf Hoff he was born in Norway and received his formal education in European schools.

Among the more successful workers in applied science our people has an honored representative in Magnus Swenson, who has qualified as chemist and as mechanical engineer. Dr. Swenson's activities have extended into many fields: he has served as professor of agriculture; he has devised and manufactured machinery for use in practical chemistry; he has built hydro-electric plants; he has served the state and the federal administration. But his greatest achievement was recorded at Sugarland, Texas, where he succeeded in doubling the yield of sugar from a given quantity of cane. Dr. Swenson was born in Norway but received his scientific training at the University of Wisconsin.

In the field of mathematics the most prominent student of Norse ancestry is Oswald Veblen of Princeton University. Though relatively young in years, Dr. Veblen has already added several important works to the literature of his subject and has received high recognition for scholarship, not only from his fellow-craftsmen in the United States but also from mathematicians in other lands.

The list properly closes with the name of Thorstein B. Veblen, who has long enjoyed a wide reputation for close thinking and brilliant writing. Dr. Veblen is an economist who is also very much at home in sociology. His first important work, *The Theory of the Leisure Class,* placed him at once in the front rank of American thinkers. He has held teaching positions in the University of Chicago, Leland Stanford University, and the University of Missouri. At present he is employed in the New School for Social Research in New York City.

These are the men to whom the writer wishes to pay a particular homage. They are the men who continue the traditions of the great work that was begun over the seas by Nils Henrik Abel, Sophus Bugge, Michael Sars, and Peter Andreas

Munch. They are the men to whom we owe such claim as we have to place and to rank in American scholarship. Most of them have, it is true, found their life work outside the Norwegian sphere of influence; but that was inevitable, and it was an outcome that none should need to regret.

This last observation leads direct to a highly pertinent question: Is there nothing that the organized forces of learning among the Norsemen of the Northwest can do to promote the type of scholarship that involves scientific research? It seems quite clear that an attempt to establish a graduate school would be futile, inasmuch as the Norwegian taxpayers are helping to maintain such institutions at the state universities. And yet, there is a task that seems well worth undertaking, one which the state institutions cannot very well take up.

Much has been said in recent years about preserving the heritage of the Norwegian element. One way, and perhaps the only effective way, to preserve a racial heritage is to preserve its memorials. The most interesting exhibit that the writer has seen in recent years is the work that is being done at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, to build up a Norse-American library and to gather for preservation and display such significant relics of the immigrant years as have survived the devastating touches of time. Under the direction of men like Gjerset, Norlie, and Karl T. Jacobsen, there have been laid the foundations of an important collection of books, newspapers, official records, tools, and household furniture — in short, whatever may serve to illustrate the Norwegian type of pioneer life. It is a collection that may acquire a great significance.

The work should be carried further. Somewhere in the Northwest there should be a library with stacks and shelves sufficiently ample to house all the Norwegian literature that is still in print or can be secured from antiquarian dealers. In addition it ought to contain copies of every book and pamphlet and newspaper published on this side of the ocean by men and women of Norwegian blood. It should have room and facili-

ties for housing documentary materials of every sort consistent with the general purpose of the collection, — for church records, for private correspondence, for personal memoirs, for anything that will help the student to understand the history of the Norwegian element in the American republic. An institution of this sort, if it could be established, would eventually come to be regarded as the only place on this side of the ocean where one could make an adequate study of Norwegian problems, — not only the problems of history but those of the earlier culture, the linguistic growth, the national literature, the economic structure, and the racial development of the Norwegian people.

To build and to endow such an institution would be a great and heavy task, but it is not beyond our strength. In a peculiar sense it would be ours; for its opportunities would prove attractive chiefly to those who might have a personal interest in things Norwegian. At the same time they would doubtless also be used by serious students of whatever ancestry. An establishment of this sort would dignify the study of Northern culture as nothing else could, and it would be the noblest contribution that we, as devoted citizens of the United States, could make to the cause of American scholarship.

NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES[1]

By George T. Flom

Fifty-six years have passed since instruction in Norwegian was first introduced into the curriculum of an American university. Since that date courses in the language and the literature of Norway, in either the early or the modern period, have been added to the offerings of all the larger universities, and some of the smaller universities and colleges. I shall try below to give a brief history of this development and to indicate the situation at the present time. I may say here, however, that whereas as late as 1880 the total number of courses offered was only seven, the number had increased to twenty-seven by 1890, and in 1917 to about one hundred and fifty. It would be difficult to measure the significance of this work educationally, as language training, and in its cultural aspect, just as it is difficult thus to evaluate the contribution of the study of any language and literature, or of any other subject. We shall content ourselves with saying here that educators and students have given it and are giving it wholehearted approval and support as a subject that has justified itself in the past; that they regard it as rightly occupying a place beside other modern language study in the programs of our universities and in the training of our students.

Norwegian language and literature — and for the earlier period Old Norse and the literature in that language — now form a part of the language work in American universities just as do German and French and one or two other languages, though on a very much smaller scale in the number of courses taught and in the number of students registered. In the beginning Norwegian was often added because the dean of the

[1] This survey, originally prepared in June, 1925, closes with the academic year 1924-25. *Ed.*

graduate school, or the dean of the college of letters and science, or the head of the department of English, or of German, or of comparative philology, desired that the subject be taught; or sometimes because some national group in the population of the state desired that students be given the opportunity of instruction in this language as well as in German and French. Now, however, Norwegian is taught because it has something to offer that is eminently worth while in our American scheme of education and because courses in this subject can do, and are expected to do, some of the work that falls to the modern language departments. But having received recognition and having assumed the burden of some of this work, instruction in Norwegian in the colleges now has the same problems to meet as the two languages mentioned met so successfully in an earlier day. With elementary Norwegian open to freshmen in many of our universities in courses that are taught three or four hours a week, the problems are in some respects different from those that existed some years ago. I shall mention here only the utter inadequacy of the present textbooks for almost all the courses offered in Norwegian language and literature, from the elementary work in modern Norwegian through the various intervening courses to, and including, the study of Old Norse. There are, of course, practical reasons for the deficiency, which I shall not go into here. But the existing difficulties must soon be remedied or some of the most important parts of the work in Norwegian will suffer and it may become necessary to allow them to lapse.

I have been asked to give a history of instruction in Norwegian language and literature in our American universities from the beginning. I shall try to do so, but space will necessarily limit the discussion of details. I think it important here, however, to note the dates when Norwegian was first introduced in the successive institutions, who taught it, what courses were given, and which subjects have been taught most extensively. In the concluding part of this paper I shall speak of some of the problems now uppermost, of present needs, and of the outlook for the future.

The courses in Norwegian might conveniently be considered as consisting of four groups: (1) language courses; (2) literature courses; (3) culture courses; and (4) philological courses. The first group includes the elementary, intermediate, and advanced courses in modern Norwegian, either in the *Riksmaal* or the *Landsmaal* form. Courses in the latter are offered in two universities, Wisconsin and Minnesota, but they have rarely actually been given. It is to be noted that in some institutions the old designation "Dano-Norwegian" sometimes still appears, and it is not always used with the same meaning. In one case, at least, the title is that of a course in both Danish and Norwegian. But it is difficult to see how two languages that are phonetically so utterly different are to be taught at the same hour in the same class, and of course they are not — it is one or the other that is taught. In several cases the term "Dano-Norwegian" is used as the title of courses in Norwegian in the *Riksmaal* form; the texts read and the authors studied are purely Norwegian writers. Used in this sense now, the term is misleading, inaccurate, and antiquated. The term "Dano-Norwegian" here should be abandoned in the names of courses and instead the name Norwegian should be used. In a course treating of the literature of the dual kingdom in the period of union (*Fælleslitteraturen*), the first term might be very well employed. The second group, the literature courses, which is very important in the present discussion, will be treated after the account of the introduction of the work in the different institutions. In the third group, the culture courses, are included such courses as "Scandinavian Life," the "History of Scandinavian Civilization," and the "Introduction to the History of Scandinavian Culture," in which Norway is treated in connection with the rest of the North. The group includes also courses in Norse mythology — by far the most extensively studied subject in this class. All the courses of the group connect the Norwegian and Scandinavian work with Old Norse on the one hand, and with the work of several other departments on the other. Old

Norse is the backbone of the work in the fourth group, the philological courses. Seven institutions offer this subject alone. Usually a one-year course in the language is given; when this is followed by a year of advanced work, the Elder Edda is nearly always studied. In a few universities more specialized courses in Norse philology have been given.

I shall now pass on to the work in the different institutions. I omit from the enumeration the course in Danish and Norwegian supposed to have been given by Paul G. Sinding in New York University in 1858–59. It is uncertain whether this course was a private one for students not regularly matriculated in the university or whether it was actually taught as a university course.[2] In spite of the fact that the instructor held from 1858 to 1861 the title of professor of Scandinavian languages and literature, it appears that the courses were not listed in the university curriculum. Professor Sinding's title was apparently not a teaching title, but was conferred upon him in recognition of his merits as a student and investigator in Scandinavian history and literature. He was resident at the university for three years. Professor Sinding was a Dane, and when he resigned his position in 1861 he returned to Denmark.

American universities are discussed below in the order in which they introduced the study of the Norwegian language.

1. In 1869 the University of Wisconsin first offered Scandinavian courses; they were from the beginning organized as a department and have always remained so. Rasmus B. Anderson was professor of Scandinavian languages from 1869 until 1884. The work of the department covers the general Scandinavian field. In the early period much emphasis was placed upon Old Norse literature; later the emphasis has been mainly upon modern Norwegian language and literature. In the latter subjects the department is now especially well organized, with the relatively large number of fourteen courses, the largest offered by any university in the country. Upon Pro-

[2] See the writer's article "Nordiske Studier ved amerikanske Universiteter," in *Symra*, 1906, pp. 151-180.

fessor Anderson's appointment as minister to Denmark in 1884, Julius E. Olson was appointed instructor; he was made assistant professor in 1887 and has been professor of Scandinavian languages and literature since 1892. Professor Olson has therefore back of him a period of service of forty-one years; and the department as now organized is entirely his work. During most of this time he has taught all the courses himself, but he had the assistance of Dr. Lee M. Hollander in Old Norse and elementary Norwegian occasionally between 1912 and 1920, and at present he has a graduate assistant. Several language courses are given every year, and also advanced literature courses. Professor Olson's lecture class in the elementary course had 44 students in 1923-24 and 45 in 1924-25; modern Norwegian writers had 108 and 190 students in the same years. A course in the *Landsmaal* also is offered. At present the Old Norse is taught by William Ellery Leonard, associate professor of English. There were 5 courses in Norwegian given at Wisconsin in 1924-25 with a total registration of 265; the total for 1923-24 was 183 in 7 courses.

2. At Cornell University a "Department of North European Languages" was established in 1869; it included the Scandinavian languages and German. Its head was David Willard Fiske, whose title was professor of north European languages and whose time was given almost wholly to Scandinavian literature and Icelandic. He later founded the Fiske Icelandic Library at Cornell, which is the largest Scandinavian collection in the country, and for Icelandic is one of the best anywhere. In 1883 the term "North European Languages" as the title of the department was discontinued, and the title "German Language and Literature" appeared in its place. The Icelandic interest has always held a leading place at Cornell. From 1905 Haldorr Hermansson was instructor in Scandinavian languages, but he was also lecturer in German from 1912 to 1920. A. LeRoy Andrews was instructor in German and Scandinavian from 1909 to 1918, teaching Old Icelandic and modern Scandinavian; in the latter year he became assis-

tant professor of German. In 1920 the Scandinavian work was organized as a department with Dr. Hermansson as assistant professor of Scandinavian languages and curator of the Fiske Library. Before that Dr. Hermansson had given courses on "The Viking Age" and in Norse mythology. At present five courses are offered: "Old Icelandic," "Old Norse-Icelandic Literature," "Modern Scandinavian Literature," "Norse Mythology," and "Early Scandinavian Civilization."

The eighties witnessed the introduction of Norwegian courses in a number of American universities. In a few of these, departments were established; in most the work was formed as a group of courses within the department of German or that of English, and in one case in that of romance languages.

3. Columbia University added courses in Norwegian in the department of German in 1880. They were first taught by Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen. In 1883 he became professor of German language and literature, although he still gave a course in Norwegian conversation. William H. Carpenter, as instructor in Icelandic, Danish, and Swedish, taught in addition to these subjects Old Norse and lectured on Norwegian literature. Dr. Carpenter later became a professor, then head of the department of Germanic languages; he is at present provost of Columbia University. For about twenty years the course in Old Norse has been taught by A. F. J. Remy, now professor of Germanic philology. The Scandinavian work at Columbia represents a transplanting of men and interests and courses in the main from Cornell University, whence Boyesen and Dr. Carpenter both came. Modern Norwegian soon began to receive more attention at Columbia, however. This was due in considerable measure to the interest in Ibsen after about 1890 on the part of several members of the staff, notable among whom is Thomas R. Price, head of the department of English, who wrote a number of studies of Ibsen's technique. In this connection should be mentioned also the name of Calvin Thomas, professor of German from 1895 until his death in 1919. In recent years Norwegian has not been taught, except

in 1921–22 when Miss Arnadóttir gave a course in elementary Danish and Norwegian. In 1924–25 Dr. Remy taught a course in elementary Old Norse, and also one in the Elder Edda.

4. A department of Scandinavian languages and literature was established at the University of Minnesota in 1883 and Olaus J. Breda as professor entered upon his duties in 1884. The emphasis here was upon Norwegian language and modern Scandinavian literature; down to 1893 instruction was limited to these two subjects. In the latter year Old Norse was introduced, being taught by Dr. Jens A. Ness, who later went to Wittenberg College at Springfield, Ohio. In 1898 Professor Breda resigned and went to Norway to live, and in 1899 John S. Carlson was appointed professor in charge of the department. His training was on the Swedish side, and it was natural, therefore, that during his incumbency more attention was given to Swedish language and literature, though Norwegian courses were always offered. Since 1907 Gisle Bothne has been professor of Norwegian language and literature and head of the department; August A. Stomberg has held the professorship in Swedish. At times there has also been an assistant, as in 1915-16, when Jens H. Hjelmstad taught Norwegian. The department offers elementary, intermediate, and advanced courses in Norwegian, besides several courses in modern Norwegian literature, including one devoted to Bjørnson alone, and one to Ibsen. There is also a course in the "*Landsmaal* Movement and Literature," and one in Old Norse. In all nine courses are offered. Lectures in Scandinavian mythology are given by Professor Stomberg, and a course in Scandinavian history.

5. One may say that the introduction of Scandinavian at Northwestern University dates from 1882, since it was in this year that the Swedish Theological Seminary, founded in 1870, was moved to Evanston and incorporated in this university. The Danish-Norwegian Theological Seminary was established in 1885, the instruction in Norwegian being in charge of the Reverend N. Simonsen, who was principal of the seminary. An elementary course in Norwegian and one in literature have

been offered. In Northwestern University proper a course in Norwegian was given by Axel L. Elmquist, assistant professor of German and Scandinavian, in 1917. At present only Old Norse is taught here; it is given by Professor C. Oliver Curme of the department of German.

6. At Johns Hopkins University, Henry Wood, head of the department of German, taught Old Norse from 1885 to 1891. Then the subject was omitted for many years; since 1907 Professor Hermann Collitz has given courses in Old Norse regularly. Norwegian has never been offered.

7. Norwegian was introduced at the University of Indiana in 1885 by David Starr Jordan. In this year he taught a class in Norwegian grammar, and the class read Bjørnson's *En Glad Gut*. Varying the selections, Dr. Jordan repeated this course every year until 1891, when he resigned to accept the presidency of Leland Stanford University. Norwegian has not since been offered at Indiana. Old Norse was introduced in 1906 by Guido H. Stempel, professor of comparative philology. The course alternates with Gothic in a cycle of two years.

8. At the University of Nebraska Hjalmar A. Edgren, professor of romance languages and comparative philology, added courses in Scandinavian to the romance language department in 1886; Norwegian was taught in 1897 by Dr. F. W. Peterson, but apparently it was given only once. A course in Ibsen was later given in the department of German, *Brand* and the social dramas being read in German translation. The Scandinavian work has since Professor Edgren's day been taught within the German department, but very little Norwegian has been given. The head of the department, Laurence Fossler, has taught a class in Norse-Germanic mythology. Joseph Alexis became instructor in Swedish and German in 1910 and later he was made assistant professor of Scandinavian and German. There was offered for a time a one-semester course in Danish and Norwegian, followed by one semester in the reading of *Brand* and *Peer Gynt*. A course in Norwegian and Danish literature was also offered. The Scandinavian courses were

dropped during the war, and have not been restored. Dr. Alexis' title is now associate professor of modern languages.

9. The first Scandinavian language taught at Harvard University was Old Norse, which was given by Professor Eugene H. Babbitt in 1888. It was later taught for a number of years by George L. Kittredge, head of the department of English; there were elementary and advanced courses in Old Norse, both sometimes being given in the same year. Professor Kittredge supplemented the class work by public lectures on Old Norse literature. Norwegian was introduced in 1899. From 1900 the work was in charge of William H. Schofield, and in 1906 the department of comparative literature was established with Professor Schofield as director. In this department he gave a large place to Old Norse and modern Norwegian literature. Since Professor Schofield's death in 1920 instruction in Norwegian has not been provided; courses are, however, listed in "Dano-Norwegian" and in "Dano-Norwegian Dramatists and their Relation to European Literature." Old Norse was taught after 1920 by Professor Hans C. G. von Jagemann; the course has been defined as consisting of "Extensive Reading in the Sagas, the Younger Edda and the Elder Edda."

10. Scandinavian courses were introduced at the University of Michigan by Calvin Thomas, head of the department of German, in 1888. There was an elementary course in Norwegian with the reading of selections from Bjørnson and Ibsen. This course was given regularly until 1895, when Professor Thomas resigned and went to Columbia. In 1896 Professor George Hench gave a course in Old Norse; this course was taught by Ewald Boucke from 1905 until 1914, when he went to Germany to live. Old Norse has not been regularly given since that time, though it is now offered, together with a course in modern Norwegian. Professor Oscar J. Campbell, of the department of English, gives two courses in Ibsen, entitled "Henrik Ibsen," and "Henrik Ibsen and his Contemporaries."

11. In 1889 Olaus Dahl was appointed instructor in Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish at Yale University. He first taught a course in Norwegian in which Bjørnson and Lie were studied; later a course in Ibsen was added; and Old Norse was introduced in 1893. When in 1894 Dr. Dahl resigned and went to the University of Chicago, Arthur H. Palmer assumed charge of the work in Scandinavian. Professor Palmer's main Scandinavian interest was Norwegian, and he frequently gave courses; these were taught regularly between 1902 and 1907. He also lectured and wrote on modern Norwegian poets, especially Bjørnson, whose lyric poems he has translated in a volume published by the American Scandinavian Foundation. Professor Palmer died in 1918. In 1898 Gustav Andreen was appointed instructor in Scandinavian languages; for three years he gave courses in Old Norse, Danish-Norwegian, and the history of modern Norwegian literature. In 1901 Dr. Andreen resigned and accepted the position of president of Augustana College at Rock Island, Illinois. In 1914 Adolph B. Benson became instructor in German and Scandinavian and he later became assistant professor. Two Norwegian courses are offered — one in modern Norwegian, considered along with Danish, and one in Old Norse.

12. In 1890 Hermann Collitz, at the time head of the department of Germanic languages, introduced Old Norse in Bryn Mawr College, and he taught it for a number of years. A course in comparative Germanic grammar was also given, with special reference to Gothic, Old Norse, Old High German, and Old English. Dr. Collitz accepted a call to Johns Hopkins University in 1907, after which Agathe Lasche gave regularly a one-year, three-hour course in Old Norse. In 1919 Edward Prokosch became professor of Germanic languages in Bryn Mawr; he is offering each year a course in Old Norse. Modern Norwegian has not been taught.

13. The department of Scandinavian languages and literature was established at the University of North Dakota in 1891 with George T. Rygh as assistant professor. He taught classes

in elementary and advanced Norwegian, and later also lectured on the history of Norwegian literature, and instructed classes in Old Norse. The chair was vacant from 1895 to 1898; in 1899-1900 Carl J. Rollefson again gave a course in Norwegian. In 1902 John Tingelstad became professor of Scandinavian languages and German, the latter language being added to the department of Scandinavian. An assistant taught the German and Professor Tingelstad gave all his time to teaching Norwegian and to developing an effective Scandinavian department, including training courses in the teaching of modern Norwegian. Little attention has been paid to Old Norse and the ancient literature of the North. At the present time a course in Old Norse is again being offered, however. Because of the large number of Icelandic, as well as Norwegian students in the University of North Dakota, this course and related courses should find good support. I may add that there also is offered a course in the teaching of the Scandinavian languages in the high schools.

14. At Western Reserve University Old Norse was first taught in 1891, the instructor being Robert H. Fife, who is at present professor of German at Columbia University. Courses in the "History of Early Scandinavian Literature" and in "Old Germanic Myths" were given later by Waller Deering. He also gave a lecture course in "Oldest Germanic Poetry," based mainly on the Elder Edda, the Younger Edda, the Volsunga Saga, Beowulf, and the Hildebrandslied. Courses in Norwegian are not given; Ibsen and Bjørnson, however, have been read in English translation in connection with a course in the German social drama, taught by Edward I. Meyer.

15. Brown University introduced the study of Scandinavian languages in 1892, when Adrian Scott first taught Old Norse, as he continued to do for a number of years following. In 1905–06 Dr. A. Clinton Crowell had the course. After that it was for some time given only in alternate years; and it is now no longer offered. Norwegian has not been taught.

16. Old Norse was first given in 1892 at the University of California by Frank G. Hubbard, assistant professor of English philology, later attached to the University of Wisconsin, and now retired. In 1904 Alexis F. Lange became professor of English philology and Scandinavian languages; he conducted yearly courses in Old Norse, and in 1905 and occasionally later, one in Norse mythology. Later Old Norse was given only in alternate years. Since 1919 it has been taught by C. Paschall. Modern Norwegian language or literature is not taught. A few years ago plans were made for a department of Scandinavian languages and literature, but these have not materialized.

17. At the University of Chicago, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg of the department of German first taught Old Norse in 1893. Olaus Dahl became lecturer in Scandinavian literature in 1894; he lectured on the literature and taught a class in Norwegian. Furthermore the Elder and the Younger Edda were studied in English translation in a half-year course. In 1897-98 Marie Wergeland conducted courses in nineteenth century Norwegian literature; in 1905 Torild Arnoldson taught "Dano-Norwegian"; and for some years Old Norse was given by Francis A. Wood, professor of Germanic philology. In addition Martin Schütte has had classes regularly in Ibsen and the modern drama. In 1906 Chester N. Gould became instructor in Scandinavian and German; he now has the rank of assistant professor. He conducts as a rule two, and sometimes three, Scandinavian courses each semester. Old Icelandic, given last in the summer of 1924, is now given as a double course, four hours a week throughout the year. Dr. Gould is also offering courses in the history of Old Norse literature, in "North European Heroic Lore," and in "Germanic Antiquities." A course in Norwegian was given in University College in Chicago proper during the fall and winter of 1924-25.

18. Julius Goebel, professor of German, first conducted a course at Leland Stanford University in 1893-94; it consisted of grammar in the first semester, and the heroic lays of the

Elder Edda in the second. In 1906 George Hempl became professor of Germanic philology; he taught courses in Old Norse regularly, and in 1907 he also gave a course entitled "The Runes: Lectures on the Origin and Development of the Primitive Germanic Alphabet," which was repeated in 1916 and in 1920. Since Dr. Hempl's death in 1921 Old Norse has not been offered. Henry D. Gray has since 1908 given a course on "Modern Drama: A Study of Ibsen and Contemporary Dramatists."

19. At Princeton University Professor J. B. Hoskins of the department of German taught Old Norse for about ten years, beginning in 1894. Since 1915 the work has been handled by George M. Priest.

20. When Marion D. Learned became professor of Germanic languages in the University of Pennsylvania in 1895 he at once introduced the study of Old Norse, and in the following year he repeated the course for beginners and gave also an advanced course. In the latter the Elder Edda was studied, and there was given also a comprehensive course of lectures on Norse literature. Later these courses were given intermittently. With the appointment of David Uppvall as assistant professor of Scandinavian and German in 1922, the Scandinavian field was raised to the position of a division in the German department, and Danish-Norwegian was taught for the first time in an elementary and an advanced course. Recently there has been offered also a course in the history of Scandinavian literature, and a graduate course in Old Norse appears in the curriculum every other year. In addition Dr. Weigand, assistant professor of German, gives a lecture course on "Great Epochs in Scandinavian Literature."

21. A department of Scandinavian languages and literature was organized at the University of Iowa in 1900 with George T. Flom as instructor; he was made assistant professor in 1901 and later professor. Elementary and intermediate Norwegian and Old Norse were given every year,

and a course in advanced Old Norse every other year. A course in Scandinavian literature was given once, and in 1902 a course in old Icelandic prose, consisting of readings in the sagas. Lecture courses in Norse mythology and in Ibsen were introduced in 1907. From 1906 to 1909 Dr. Flom was also professor of English philology and, in addition to four courses a year in Scandinavian, he conducted courses in first and second year Old English, Gothic, and the history of the English language. He resigned in 1909, and for several years no Scandinavian courses were offered. Henning Larsen, who had become instructor in English in 1910 and later was made assistant professor, has taught Norwegian and sometimes also Old Norse, but most of his time is claimed by English classes. Recently he has offered elementary Norwegian, Old Norse, and advanced Old Norse. None of these were given in 1924-25, but instead a full year course entitled "From Ibsen to Hamsun," consisting of lectures and reading, was offered, the authors being read in English translation.

22. Instruction in Norwegian was first given at the University of South Dakota in 1901 by O. E. Hagen. In 1902 a department of Scandinavian languages and literature was organized with Tollef B. Thompson as assistant professor. Several courses in Norwegian were given, and sometimes Old Norse. There was a promising development in the following years and at the outbreak of the World War the offerings numbered a dozen courses; in 1916-17 the total was eighteen courses, seven usually being given each year. Upon Professor Thompson's death in 1918 the Scandinavian work was dropped at the same time when German was dropped. The department of Scandinavian has not been reëstablished.

23. At the University of Kansas William H. Carruth, head of the department of German, taught Old Norse in 1902 and the years following. In 1908 A. M. Sturtevant became instructor in German and later he was made assistant professor of German and Scandinavian. He took over the course

in Old Norse and also occasionally taught Norwegian. These courses were abandoned during the World War and have not since been given; elementary Norwegian and Old Norse are now offered, but they are not being given at present.

24. In 1904 the University of Illinois offered a course in Norwegian and Danish literature in the nineteenth century, given by Daniel K. Dodge, professor of English. In 1906 Gustaf E. Karsten became head of the department of modern languages, and he added Old Norse to the offerings in 1907, but the course was not given. With the appointment in 1909 of George T. Flom as assistant professor, later professor, of Scandinavian languages and literature, a group of courses in Scandinavian was offered at first in affiliation with German. Courses in Norwegian language and literature, in Old Norse, advanced Old Norse, and Norse mythology were taught from the first; and a course in the history of old Norse literature is given regularly. A lecture course in "Ibsen's Social Dramas," using the English translations, has been given every year, and sometimes an additional course is offered entitled "Introduction to Ibsen." A course on the "Runic Inscriptions" has been taught once; one in "Scandinavian Palaeography" was given once for advanced graduate students; and undergraduates have had four opportunities to study a "Survey History of Scandinavian Culture." Other courses have been offered in Scandinavian drama and Germanic mythology.† Since 1918 the Scandinavian work has been organized as a division of the department of English. Many of the courses have been small; others have been well attended; largest have been those in Norse mythology (102 last year, 82 this year) and Ibsen (82 last year, 91 this year). During the current year six different courses have been given, two of them extending through the year, and one student has taken a "research course" conducted by conferences. The

† These three courses are now [1927] withdrawn.

total number of students has been 197 in 1923-24 and 196 in 1924-25.

25. Clara Holst, from Christiania University, gave a course in Old Norse at Wellesley College in 1905 and for several years following. Dr. Holst later became a member of the staff of the University of Kansas, and since her departure Norse has not been taught at Wellesley.

26. At Ohio State University between 1904 and 1908 a course was given in Old Norse and Old Saxon combined, by George B. Viles of the department of German. In the latter year, however, Old Norse was discontinued.

27. Norwegian instruction was introduced at Washington State College in 1905 by A. E. Egge, professor of English, and continued regularly in an elementary and an intermediate course until Dr. Egge's death. The courses have not been offered since.

28. C. M. Lottspeich, instructor in German at Cincinnati University, first taught an elementary and also an advanced course in Old Norse in 1906. Dr. Lottspeich is now professor of comparative philology, within which field a course in Old Norse is given every year. Norwegian has not been offered.

29. At Wittenberg College, in Springfield, Ohio, Jens A. Ness, professor of Latin, taught a class in Norwegian in 1906 and for some years thereafter. Old Norse was offered in 1907, but it is not given now.

30. A department of Scandinavian languages and literature was organized at the University of Washington in 1912, with Professor E. J. Vickner in charge. He began as an instructor and is at present professor of Scandinavian languages. He is giving an elementary course (ten students in 1923–24, fourteen this year) and an intermediate course in Norwegian and Danish (nine students), and also a course in the literature, and one in Old Norse. Courses are offered in the history of Scandinavian literature, Scandinavian litera-

ture of the nineteenth century, recent Scandinavian literature (44 students in this course in 1923-24), and Scandinavian writers in translation (26 students in 1923-24). (In the last two courses English translations are used; the registration in the two this year is 70.) Dr. Vickner also gives a course for graduate students in comparative philology. A lecture course in "Scandinavian Institutions" has occasionally been given. Seven Scandinavian courses are given annually; the registration in 1923-24 was 120, and for 1924-25 it was 123.

31. At the University of Oregon Edward Thorstenberg has offered a course in elementary Norwegian since 1910 and since 1913 also one in advanced Norwegian, and lectures on Scandinavian literature.

32. Otto Heller, head of the department of German at Washington University in St. Louis, has since 1912 regularly given a course entitled "Henrik Ibsen: Plays and Problems."

33. At the University of Utah in 1919 the course in "Leading Dramatists of Modern Times" was devoted to Bjørnson and Ibsen; it was taught by O. J. P. Widtsoe. In the two years from 1920 to 1922 Professor Widtsoe offered courses in Norse and "Norse Prose and Verse Readings." It should also be added that there has been given regularly since 1917 a course in modern drama, which begins with Ibsen and gives a good deal of attention to his plays; the same is true also of the course in "Contemporary Drama, 1850-1920."

34. Josef Wiehr, assistant professor of German at Smith College, has since 1920 regularly given a course in modern Norwegian, which consists of a study of grammar, with readings from Bjørnson, Lie, and Ibsen.

35. In 1921 Lee M. Hollander, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, became assistant professor of German at the University of Texas; he conducts annually a class in Old Norse.

36. Since 1922 two courses in Norwegian have been offered at the University of Colorado — one in "Dano-Nor-

wegian," and the other in " Masterpieces of Norwegian Literature." They are taught by W. F. Baur of the department of German.

I shall add finally that A. R. Hohlfeld gave a course in Old Norse to ten students in the spring semester of 1898 at Vanderbilt University; the course has, however, not been offered since. At the University of Missouri, Old Norse has been listed in the offerings ever since 1906, but instruction has never been given.

This article is intended to offer a brief history of instruction in Norse in American universities and in a few non-Scandinavian colleges. But, while the situation in the Norwegian church colleges is a special one, I cannot leave the subject without mentioning them. Here for example, at Luther College and at St. Olaf College, the modern Norwegian language has occupied a peculiarly important place, in fact something like a central place. For it has been not only a subject of instruction, but also the regular medium of instruction, not only in the Norwegian courses but originally also in all other courses except English. In recent years English has become the medium of the teaching in all the Norwegian church colleges. The training in non-Norwegian modern languages has been limited to German and French. Of these the former has been stressed, as is perfectly natural in Lutheran colleges. The high average of results in the teaching of German has been due, in part certainly, to the fact that alongside the study of German the students received excellent training in a closely related language, their native Norwegian. The excellent results obtained in the intensive training in modern Norwegian, extending over a period of four years in these colleges, are well known. The emphasis is on language training entirely here; and the results are comparable with the best modern language work done in the chief colleges and universities of the country.

Lest the reader be left with a vague impression of the scope and continuity of the work in the institutions listed in the pres-

ent survey, I shall summarize the number of courses offered in the subject in each university and compare this figure with the total number of all Scandinavian courses that have been given. It will be seen that Norwegian is not taught so extensively as might be wished; in several institutions only one or two courses are given, in others the subject is taught only every other year. In some cases the death or the resignation of the professor in charge has been followed by the cessation of the work for some years; in a few such cases the courses have not been restored; and in two cases the departments have been abandoned. In a few other cases some courses continue to be taught only in the catalog. Some other modern language study is allowed to crowd out the Norwegian from the study programs of the students; some other philological course of far less importance for the student is made to take the place of Old Norse, even if the student wishes the latter subject. In the six institutions listed in group A below, all the time of one or more men is given to the work; in the institutions in group B the instructors in charge do other teaching also. It is not necessary to tabulate the institutions in a third group, but it should be noted that two Scandinavian courses each are offered in Colorado, Columbia, Kansas, Utah, and Yale universities, and one in Bryn Mawr, California, Cincinnati, Indiana, Johns Hopkins, Leland Stanford, Princeton, Smith, Texas, and Washington (St. Louis).

	Universities	Number of Norwegian Courses	Number of Scandinavian Courses
Group A:	Wisconsin	14	18
	Minnesota	10	16
	Illinois	8	18
	North Dakota	8	10
	Washington	5	14
	Cornell	3	5

Group B:	Pennsylvania	3	7
	Chicago	4	6
	Michigan	4	4
	Iowa	4	4
	Oregon	2	5

Judged by the number of institutions offering the courses the relative importance of subjects is about as follows: Old Norse, Ibsen, elementary and intermediate Norwegian, history of Scandinavian literature, Norse mythology, history of Old Norse literature, Ibsen and the modern drama. The last is a course that is now given extensively sometimes just under the title modern drama. Then come subjects that are less generally studied: modern Norwegian literature, advanced Old Norse, Scandinavian civilization or the history of Scandinavian culture, Ibsen's *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* or advanced Norwegian, and Bjørnson and Lie. From the point of view of the number of students registered, the course in Ibsen in English translation leads, the history of Scandinavian literature comes second, and Norse mythology third. In these subjects from twenty to two hundred usually are registered; other classes are usually much smaller. Old Norse, it should be said, is offered nearly everywhere only to graduate students, hence the relatively much smaller classes consisting of from one to fifteen students. Elementary Norwegian is now being taken by a considerable number of non-Scandinavian students; its growth is slow, but fairly steady. It is coming to be regarded by many English teachers as valuable especially to the English student who is preparing for teaching. Especially is it agreed that students of Norwegian extraction, who have acquired some knowledge of Norwegian in the home, should have Norwegian as part of their modern language training from the start of the college course. It is unfortunate that these students themselves do not realize the importance of this.

All courses, except those noted below, have been taught two hours a week. This includes all the graduate and ad-

vanced undergraduate courses, and usually also those in intermediate and advanced Norwegian. Elementary Norwegian has formerly also in most places been a two-hour course, but it is now commonly given as a three-hour course, or, for freshmen, to whom it is entirely a new language, even as a four-hour course. For Scandinavians with some previous knowledge, it is also given as a two-hour course in most universities. As noted, the course is in a few institutions a four-hour course, as German and French, and other beginners' language courses, where these are of four hours, as at Wisconsin, North Dakota, and Washington, or as a five-hour course where these are of five hours, as at Minnesota. In these four institutions the Norwegian is open to freshmen and has in every way been placed on a par with French and German, as permissible in satisfying foreign language requirements, and is so listed with French and German in the catalog. Beginning Norwegian given as a freshman course necessarily must follow the hour requirements of freshman language work.

A very real difficulty in the Scandinavian work in all the institutions in the Middle West, and to some extent in the Far West, is the different degree of previous knowledge of the subject on the part of students in the beginning courses. The larger number of the students in the Norwegian language courses are of Norwegian parentage and have learned something of the language in the home. If the pronunciation of such students is fairly good, and their knowledge of the vocabulary sufficient, they may be put into the intermediate course, though that seldom can be done. Then there are others with little or no knowledge beyond some common terms, or with purely dialectal pronunciation. Finally in recent years, a considerable number of non-Scandinavian students have been registering for Norwegian, and thus the problem is further complicated. The only way to meet this situation is to have two kinds of beginners' courses, one for non-Norwegians, and one for Norwegians, though some of the latter would have to

begin the work with the former group, and take up Norwegian as a new language entirely. In the University of Wisconsin an effort has been made to remedy the difficulty in the following way. There is a four-hour course for freshmen, continued for sophomores, also four hours; then there is a three-hour course in Norse grammar and literary readings "for students who have some familiarity with the spoken language, or who have a good knowledge of other foreign languages." These two sets of courses were given for some years; but the requirements of other courses upon the time of the instructor and assistant have made it necessary to eliminate the system for the present, and to try again to teach both kinds of students in the same beginners' classes. In most universities, as at Minnesota, Iowa, Washington, and Illinois, there has apparently always been only the one type of beginners' course. In the University of North Dakota there is an elementary four-hour course, and second-year and advanced courses of three hours; and there are offered also two training courses, one with special reference to those who intend to teach Norwegian in the high schools. The professor in charge has two assistants, Mr. J. Haugen and Miss Rolena Rivenes, with the title of student assistant.

The registration for the elementary and intermediate language courses in Norwegian has usually been small, consisting of from four to fifteen or twenty students — forty-five in the course for 1924-25 in the University of Wisconsin is possibly the largest on record. In the early days classes were everywhere quite small, usually the course had three or four students to begin with. In eastern universities all courses in Norwegian are commonly given as graduate courses, and the classes are then necessarily small, three to twelve or so. In the Middle West there was encouraging registration as early as the eighties in some cases, as at the University of Minnesota in 1886 when Professor O. J. Breda had a class of seventeen in elementary Norwegian.

The problem of suitable grammars and other texts is a pressing one at the present time; for the work in the universities the available grammars are practically useless. What is needed is an up-to-date book, planned for beginners in the language — one that in method, content, vocabulary, and reading matter is prepared along the lines of present-day pedagogical theory in language instruction. If some man with university teaching experience in the language, who therefore knows the needs of the students and what it is that especially gives trouble to beginners, particularly to non-Norwegians, could be induced to prepare a grammar, it would be a great help. The present situation is exceedingly bad, and Norwegian cannot long maintain itself as a language training subject along with German and French, even on the small scale of the past, if this need is not soon met and met in the right way. In the advanced courses and in the literature courses the present tools are more nearly adequate. In the graduate courses it is in Old Norse that the need of suitable, up-to-date texts is most pressing. W. A. Craigie's *Easy Readings in Old Icelandic* is a good help when the purpose is to give a reading knowledge of Icelandic prose. But there is needed also and especially a complete grammar prepared with a view to use by students in Germanics; and there are needed various texts properly edited, with adequate vocabularies. In Norse mythology a new handbook in English which could be used as a textbook is a desideratum; for my own class in the subject I prepared some years ago a somewhat elaborate syllabus, which I shall, perhaps, have printed. But a separate textbook is the first need. Finally a brief history of the Scandinavian languages and a fairly complete history of modern Norwegian literature are needed. If the second of these is to be used in American colleges and universities, a limited number of great names must be stressed, and Ibsen's works — dramas, poems essays, letters — and their significance must have a large place.

In recent years many Scandinavian departments or divisions have added to their literature offerings some course in

Norwegian writers to be read in English translation. Such a course usually consists of Ibsen's dramas, but now and then the writings of Bjørnson, Lie, Kielland, and Hamsun also are studied. The introduction of such a course, within these limits perhaps, has been a desirable thing, and is in every way justifiable. It has been done in the first place in response to a demand on the part of the students themselves, and the Scandinavian departments cannot afford to ignore this. They should meet this demand, and by meeting it in the right way and offering the kinds of courses that the students need and want the departments will do a service of real importance. In some institutions this course has established a recognized place for itself and the classes are large and growing. There are a great many students who wish the guidance of an introductory course in Ibsen, or a more intensive course in the study of some of Ibsen's dramas, their meaning and technique. There are relatively few, however, who can plan their courses to include the learning of the Norwegian language, even though their major interest is literature and their interest in Ibsen so strong that they would like to learn Norwegian in order to be able to read him in the original. So I think that within certain rather definite limits the course in translated literature has a legitimate place. But I am not certain that it is advisable to attempt any further extension of this type of course. It would be far better if the student who has developed this interest would study the language and learn to read Ibsen, Bjørnson, Lie, Kielland, and Hamsun in the original. One of the great literatures of modern times — one of the greatest — would then be open to him. Norwegian is not difficult; a four-hour-a-week course for a year would give a capable student sufficient mastery; he should have a better command of the language at the end of a year than he could possibly acquire in two years of German or French. In a translation much is lost, is imperfectly rendered, and the greater the work translated the more difficult is the translator's task. Most Norwegian writers have been wretchedly trans-

lated — barring a very few volumes issued in recent years — and even the best translations are but approximations. The instructor in a course using English translations must plan his work carefully with a view to what adequate translations are available; and even then it may be necessary for each work assigned for reading, or taken up for study in class, to consider somewhat the translator's method, and the degree of his success in interpreting his author. I must say here, for the students taking these courses, that they, for the most part, have had considerable previous work in literature, and they make the very best students to work with. Ibsen has a strong appeal for the students of English and German especially; that they like Ibsen's social plays can be readily understood; but it has often been a surprise and a delight to me to observe the appeal that *Kongsemnerne* and *Brand* have had for them, and still more of a surprise that for many of them it is *Peer Gynt* that is the favorite. As *Peer Gynt* is in Norway the most extensively read of all of Ibsen's dramas, it is destined, no doubt, to gain more and more in favor among students of literature in other countries also, and not least with American university students.

Finally, I wish to add a word about the purely philological courses. Philology has suffered a loss of interest in America during the last two decades, especially the last ten years. There are several reasons for this condition, but I do not wish to go into them here. A growth of interest, however, has been witnessed in the last few years in certain aspects of philological study and in the general field of linguistics. There is reason to hope that the great importance of philological training will gradually be fully recognized, and these studies will again come into their own. Even Old Norse has for several years not been taught in some of the larger institutions, though possibly only because an instructor for the subject was not available. But during the last two years it has again reappeared in a few cases. The Scandinavian departments should

place more emphasis upon Old Norse and related courses hereafter. Graduate students in English and German or in comparative philology are making an unfortunate mistake if they do not take at least the one-year course in Old Norse.

The present outlook for the work in Norwegian language and literature in our universities must be pronounced good, even if not excellent. While the number of courses taught this year is perhaps not as great as it was in 1914, the number of students registered is greater. Our work in the universities reached a high point in its development in the years from 1912 to the spring of 1916; then, with the anti-foreign-language feeling engendered by the war, there was a rapid decline, the low mark occurring in the years between 1916 and 1920. I am judging the status of the subject here purely on the basis of number and variety of courses offered, the number of courses given annually, and the extent of the registration in these courses. The number and character of investigations carried on, the scholarly publications issued, the building up of the libraries, and the development in other ways I am here leaving out of the question. The general Scandinavian situation, including that in the high schools, has not been considered; in the high schools the situation of Norwegian is very discouraging. In the universities, however, the Norwegian work began to recover in the fall of 1920, and since the fall of 1922 the gain in a number of the institutions has been rapid, the courses are being restored in others, and new appointments are being made with a view to increasing the offerings in this work. A point has been reached in the growth, I think, when it is imperative that certain needs be met, as I have mentioned above. Assuming that these needs can be met by the coöperation of the men in the field and our progressive publishers, as I believe they can be, it may be said that the future promises well — that the study of the Norwegian language and Norwegian writers will increase in American universities.

NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN LUTHERAN CHURCH HISTORY[1]

By George M. Stephenson

A layman finds himself at a considerable disadvantage in attempting a review of Dr. Rohne's detailed history of Norwegian-American Lutheranism. After battling his way through a hurricane of theological controversies he lays the book down with a regret that he was deprived of instruction in standard theological courses in dogmatics, symbolics, liturgics, exegesis, hermeneutics, and pastoral theology as a preparation for the evaluation of certain types of church histories. The Norwegian immigrants came to America with a rich heritage of doctrinal controversy, which sprang up on the soil of Norway; and transplanting on the prairies of the Mississippi Valley increased its growth rather than stunted it. Contending steadfastly for the faith once delivered to the fathers, these Norwegian pioneers were cordial haters of heresy; and it is doubtful whether they loved overly much the exponents of heresy.

Dr. Rohne refuses to accept any responsibility for the Norwegian church fathers. He glories in their achievements, but he warns Norwegian-American Lutherans that he has attempted to present their history as it is, not as he would have liked to have it. The apology is wholly unnecessary, because every historian aspires to write history as it is and not as it might have been if men — even men who have taken holy orders— were not so incurably human. The doctrinal controversies that enlivened the hardships and drudgery of the pioneer Norwegian pastors were fought out by men who prided themselves on their orthodoxy; there were no higher critics among

[1] *Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872*, by J. Magnus Rohne, professor of Christianity in Luther College, Decorah, Iowa (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926. xxiv, 271 p.)

them. Elling Eielsen in his veneration of the Scriptures as the inspired Word of God yielded not one jot or tittle to his bitterest assailants in the other camps. Theirs was a typical Lutheran battle fought on American soil, each party contending for what it conceived to be Lutheranism and therefore historic Christianity.

During the period covered by Dr. Rohne's monograph three synodical organizations emerged: (1) the body which took its cue from that interesting character, Elling Eielsen; (2) the Paul Andersen group, which sojourned in the Synod of Northern Illinois from 1851 to 1860; (3) the university group, which formed the so-called Norwegian Synod. The leaders of the first two organizations could think of no better way of discrediting the third than by stigmatizing it as dominated by " state church " ideas, harking back to the rationalism and spiritual deadness of the established church of Norway. Professor Rohne gives a very good picture of religious conditions in Norway. While he does not believe that rationalism took a strong hold in that country, he does admit that conditions in the state church were not what they ought to have been; likewise, while paying a great tribute to Hauge as a great religious force, he rejects the popular belief that he was the sole progenitor of the spiritual race in Norway. Although the author does not specifically say so, Paul Andersen was undoubtedly the most liberal of the Norwegian-American pastors in this period; and the Norwegian Synod men recognized him as such in his writings in the liberal General Synod papers and in *Kirketidende*.

Dr. Rohne has rendered a real service by writing a book that gives the religious background of Norwegian immigration, relates the early beginnings of Norwegian Lutheranism in America, traces in minute detail the organization of synods and the controversies that raged between them, and outlines the inception of educational and missionary activity. One has the feeling that he did not feel himself called upon to write a

eulogy of the Norwegian immigrants or to scorch his pages with criticisms of individuals with whom he does not happen to agree. This is all the more praiseworthy because the remnants of the controversies which fill so many of his pages linger on; and Dr. Rohne as a churchman and a professor of Christianity in a Norwegian-American Lutheran institution must have matured convictions on these matters. Doubtless he will maintain the same poise in judging a lay reviewer who sees much to praise in his monograph, but who is impelled to write a few paragraphs of mild criticism.

The author obviously wrote his book with a certain type of reader in mind — and his own mind was clear on all these matters of conflict — but he has not made proper allowance for the limitations of the reader who has not steeped himself in theological lore and has not pored over the documents from which his material was drawn. In other words, in a book which will fall into the hands of readers who are new to the subject they should be kept aware of the stage they have reached. The author naturally sees each chapter in the light of his full knowledge of the subject, while the new reader sees it only in the light of what has gone before. If the author had followed the example of the evangelist and had stopped at more frequent intervals to tell the reader "what he has told him," his narrative would have been more lucid. As it is, sometimes we are unable to see the woods for the trees.

In several places Dr. Rohne refers to the fact that the constant hammering of the symbolists in the "Missouri" Synod, in the Norwegian Synod, and in the Joint Synod of Ohio on the inconsistency of Paul Andersen's group remaining in the Synod of Northern Illinois, which was a member of the "loose" General Synod, drove them into a stricter confessionalism and ultimately out of "heretical" company; but he fails to do full justice either to the position of the Scandinavians in the General Synod or to that of the "New Lutherans," that is, those who subscribed to Doctor Schmucker's "Definite

Synodical Platform" which created such a furore in every Lutheran synod in 1855 and after. Dr. Rohne has confined himself pretty largely to Norwegian sources; if he had gone through the files of the ultra liberal *Lutheran Observer,* the moderately conservative *Missionary,* and the mildly unionistic *Hemlandet,* he would have received a different slant on this vexed question. The strong "Missouri" influence in the Norwegian Synod (of which the author is aware), and the blind and uncompromising symbolism of the "Missourians" from that day until this, ought to have put the author on his guard. It is true, as the author points out, that, years after, Paul Andersen admitted that in his early career he assumed a false doctrinal position; but in all fairness it should be emphasized that the very unreasonableness of the "foreign" symbolists probably drove him and many of like mind into the other camp. That the influx of German, Norwegian, and Swedish symbolists checked the development of a liberal theology within the American Lutheran Church, whether for better or worse, is unquestionably true; but that their methods were in some cases questionable is equally true.

The fact that the Norwegian Lutheran synods in most matters held studiously aloof from the General Synod and the General Council may possibly justify Dr. Rohne's slight treatment of the Synod of Northern Illinois; but he has all but overlooked the genuinely benevolent interest in the welfare of their Norwegian brethren on the part of General Synod men like the indefatigable philanthropist and wise editor, W. A. Passavant; the college president, W. M. Reynolds; and the theological professor and editor, S. W. Harkey. These men were sincerely interested in bringing about a better understanding between the Scandinavians and the other Lutheran bodies, as their manuscript correspondence shows; but they were unable to cope with the peculiarly effective propaganda emanating from the papers edited by that remarkably gifted, but certainly one-sided, "Missourian," Dr. C. F. W. Walther.

Dr. Rohne's discussions of the Synod of Northern Illinois (which he always terms "Northern Illinois Synod") are based entirely on Norwegian and Swedish sources, largely the writings of Hatlestad and Norelius. He naïvely accepts their version of the doctrinal controversy between the Scandinavian symbolists and the "new measure" Lutherans within the Synod of Northern Illinois. His account of the difficulties that arose in connection with the Scandinavian professorship at Illinois State University which led to the secession of the Scandinavians and the organization of the independent Scandinavian Augustana Synod in 1860 is essentially that of the Scandinavian professor himself, the Reverend L. P. Esbjörn, who was hardly qualified to sit in judgment on his own case, although it is true that the Scandinavian Conference at Chicago voted unanimously to sustain him. But if one reads the other side in papers like the *Lutheran Observer* and the *Olive Branch* and in the correspondence between Hasselquist and Harkey and Reynolds, that unfortunate affair appears in a somewhat different light. Esbjörn's defence as published in several papers smacks strongly of special pleading. Moreover Dr. Rohne is in error in stating that the Synod of Northern Illinois was formed by a few Swedes and Norwegians, with Esbjörn and Andersen in the lead. The fact is that it was organized by Americans, Germans, and Norwegians, Esbjörn and his lay delegate arriving the day after the organization of the Synod had been effected. So far was Esbjörn from shaping the constitution of the Synod that he affiliated with it only after permission had been granted him to have printed in the minutes his doctrinal position, which was quite at variance with that of the constitution.

Possibly the rather disproportionate space allotted to the shortcomings of Dr. Rohne's monograph may leave the impression that the author has failed in his effort to contribute to our knowledge of Norwegian-American Lutheranism and of American church history; but if this be the case, the im-

pression is entirely misleading. The author set himself to an exceedingly difficult task; and the reader and the reviewer may well ask himself if he or any one else could have excelled him. Unmistakably the author has placed under heavy obligation those who have sought a better understanding of the subject and he has lightened the burden of those who may take up their pens to develop the subject still further.

THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

REPORTS OF OFFICERS

THE SECRETARY'S REPORT

The annual meeting of the Norwegian-American Historical Association was held at the New Nicollet Hotel in Minneapolis on January 4, 1927.

The reports of officers were received, approved, and ordered placed on file.

Dr. Laurence M. Larson brought up the matter of honorary membership, suggesting that in case such membership should be established Dean Kendric Charles Babcock of the University of Illinois should be the first recipient because of his work in Scandinavian-American history. The Executive Board was asked to bring in a resolution on this matter at the dinner to be held in the evening.

The following resolutions from the Executive Board were then read:

1. Whereas, it is the policy of this Association to give such financial support to historical research as its finances will allow, be it therefore resolved that the study of the activities of the Norwegian seamen on the Great Lakes be actively pursued and that steps be taken to secure such financial support as the project may demand.

2. Resolved, that the Norwegian-American Historical Association accepts the kind offer of St. Olaf College to provide a safe place in which the Association may deposit its archives.

3. Resolved, that the Association, wishing to secure so far as possible all that has been written and published by men and women of Norwegian birth or origin, hereby expresses the wish that all those of our people who have published books, pamphlets, articles, and the like will donate copies to the Association for its collection.

The secretary was requested to send letters of thanks to Mr. O. M. Oleson, Mr. Birger Osland, and Sir Karl Knudsen for their generous donations to the Association.

Upon motion the Board of Editors was thanked for its splendid work during the past year.

Mr. Osland moved that the president, Reverend D. G. Ristad; the vice president, Dr. Laurence M. Larson; the secretary, Professor O. A. Rølvaag; and the treasurer, Honorable O. M. Oleson be reëlected for the next term of three years. The motion was seconded by Reverend L. A. Vigness and was carried unanimously by a rising vote.

Dr. Blegen brought up the matter of the Association holding meetings for the purpose of hearing papers worked out as studies in the history of the Norwegian-Americans. The matter was referred to the Executive Board.

Upon motion the meeting then adjourned.

At 6:30 P. M. a festive dinner was enjoyed by members and friends of the Association, with Reverend G. T. Lee acting as toastmaster. The following responded to toasts: Dr. O. E. Brandt, Mr. Osland, Reverend B. E. Bergesen, Mr. Carl Hansen, President Ristad, Dr. Blegen, Dr. L. W. Boe, Dr. Larson, Dr. Gisle Bjørnstad, Dr. H. G. Stub, Judge Andreas Ueland, and Mr. Nelson. Dr. Bjørnstad in his talk emphasized the value of life memberships in the association, and Mr. Nelson brought greetings from the newspaper *Skandinaven*.

During the dinner Dr. Larson reported on behalf of the Executive Board in the matter of honorary membership and of giving recognition to Dean Babcock that such membership cannot be established without amending the charter, but that the Board unanimously recommended the adoption of the following resolution:

Resolved, by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, that in recognition of the distinguished services rendered by Dean Kendric Charles Babcock to the history of the Scandinavian element in the United States, the publications of the Association be sent to him with the compliments and best wishes of our organization.

The resolution received a unanimous vote. The meeting was thereupon adjourned.

Immediately upon the adjournment of the plenary meeting the officers just elected met and proceeded to complete the Executive Board and to elect all other officers.

To membership in the Executive Board were elected Dr. Knut Gjerset, Mr. Birger Osland, and Mr. E. G. Quamme. To the Board of Finance: Mr. Osland, Dr. T. Stabo, Dean J. Jørgen Thompson, Mr. A. N. Rygg, Professor P. O. Holland, and Mr. E. G. Quamme; the treasurer, Mr. Oleson, serving *ex officio*. To the Board of Editors: Dr. Blegen, managing editor; Dr. Gjerset; Mr. Kristian Prestgard; and Dr. Larson.

The following regional vice presidents were elected: Dr. E. Nyman Figved, Boston; Consul M. E. Moe, Philadelphia; Mrs. Oakley Kissam Brown, Chicago; Professor C. Martin Alsager, Chicago; Reverend H. J. Thorpe, Milwaukee; Professor Julius E. Olson, Madison, Wisconsin; Colonel Chr. Brandt, Decorah, Iowa; Reverend G. T. Lee, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Mr. Hans Ustrud, Baltic, South Dakota; Professor Herman C. Nordlie, Moorhead, Minnesota; Mrs. Frida Bue-Homnes, Crosby, North Dakota; Mr. Gunnar Lund, Seattle, Washington; Captain S. J. Arnesen, Brooklyn, New York; and Axel Arneson, Fort Worth, Texas.

O. E. Rølvaag, *Secretary*

THE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Pursuant to a call sent out by the temporary officers chosen at the preliminary meeting held at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, on October 6, 1925, the constitutional meeting of the Norwegian-American Historical Association was held at the Ryan Hotel, St. Paul, Minnesota, on February 3, 1926.

The temporary board of directors carried on an intensive campaign for members during the months intervening, and at the close of the St. Paul meeting the secretary reported 425 members.

The treasurer's report, covering the period up to February 1, 1926, showed a cash balance in the bank of $1279.99; and $1800.00 in the permanent fund, of which $1450.10 had been invested in interest-bearing securities.

From the reports of the secretary and treasurer to our meeting to-day you will learn what our total membership is to date, and the status of the finances of the Association. The report from the editorial committee will inform you in detail of the literary activities engaged in during the past year.

At the St. Paul meeting the Association was incorporated under the laws of the State of Minnesota, and the temporary officers were elected to serve until January 4, 1927, with the duties and powers assigned to these officers by the charter and the by-laws adopted at this meeting.

Following the constitutional meeting of the Association, the Executive Board met, organized, and appointed a Board of Finance, a Financial Secretary, a Board of Editors, three members to complete the governing board, and a number of regional vice presidents.

On May 26, 1926, the Executive Board held a meeting at the home of Mr. Kristian Prestgard in Decorah, Iowa. To the Board had come a tender through Professor Brøgger of a gift of a number of antiquities from the people of Norway, with the request that the Norwegian-American Historical Association designate a place for their exhibition and permanent safekeeping. When this gift arrives and has been set up, appropriate exercises of grateful acceptance will undoubtedly be arranged by the proper authorities; our association should be represented on that occasion.

Concerning the disposition of this gift, the Executive Board adopted the following resolution:

"The Norwegian American Historical Association gratefully accepts the gift of the committee in Norway which now is gathering museum articles for the Norwegian-American people, the gift to be deposited in the Norwegian American

Historical Museum at Decorah, Iowa; this institution agreeing to act as custodian in perpetuity of the gift on behalf of the Norwegian people of America."

A loan of the sloop model and a large collection of pictures, exhibited at the Norwegian American Centennial celebration in 1925, from the Bygdelagenes Fællesraad, Inc., was accepted and the objects were ordered placed in the Norwegian American Historical Museum at Decorah, Iowa.

At this meeting it was also decided to order the publication in English and Norwegian of Ole Rynning's *Sandfærdig Beretning om Amerika* (1838) with a foreword and notes, an original copy of the book having been lent to our Association by Trondhjem's Videnskabsselskap through the kind offices of Ola Five, Steinkjer, Norway, a brother of our treasurer.

Approached by Professor Haldor Hansen, Chicago, with reference to his collection of Norwegian-American books and publications, the Board instructed its secretary to suggest to Mr. Hansen that he place his collection for safekeeping in the St. Olaf College archives. Whether Mr. Hansen will act on this suggestion remains to be seen.

It was also resolved to identify the Association with the activities of the American Historical Association by giving $25.00 to aid in the publication of the annual *Writings in American History.*

A membership campaign through workers hired on a percentage basis during the summer months was decided upon. As far as I know only one man, Mr. Ingolf Lee, entered the field, and he did well enough during the short time he worked.

The Board, while highly favoring and encouraging Professor Jacobson and others in the effort to compile a Norwegian-American bibliography, did not see its way clear to assist the work financially. It is, however, a most important undertaking, and should be supported as soon as means are available.

Finally the Board, at the suggestion of Mr. Birger Osland, requested Dr. Gjerset, with such assistance as he might be

able to use, to take time to gather material for a history of the part played by Norwegian shipbuilders, sailors, and carriers in the development of the traffic on the Great Lakes. Through the generosity of Mr. Oleson and Mr. Osland the sum of $700 was provided, and Dr. Gjerset has visited the principal ports on the Great Lakes and gathered considerable information, which, when published, will add a hitherto unwritten chapter to the history of our people in America.

Proper acknowledgement of these gifts should be made by this meeting.

May I suggest in this connection that the story of Norwegian-American shipbuilding, shipping, and fishing on the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts is still unwritten. Who will do it? How can we get it done?

Some work of permanent value has been done in the past by individuals in the fields of Norwegian-American journalism, publication, the professions and public service, and the published material will be helpful when serious scholarship undertakes to interpret these phases of our people's endeavor and service. But the story of our contributions to American business, banking, industry, engineering, invention, and farming has only been touched at random and is waiting for the men and the means to be studied and recorded.

With the exception of the meeting in Decorah, the Board has not sat since its organization meeting in St. Paul eleven months ago. The work has been carried on by correspondence. More than a thousand letters have come to me since October, 1925, and just as many have gone out, not counting contributions to the press. But by this method the members of the Board have at all times kept in close touch and been able to work in complete harmony and mutual understanding.

Earnest efforts have been made to build up an effective regional organization. The success so far has been rather indifferent, though the secretaries have secured a mailing list of several thousand names.

The first volume of STUDIES AND RECORDS has met with general approval, not only by the members, but by a large number of other discriminating and appreciative readers, and the reviews in the press have been most favorable. This is a credit to the scholarship of the Editorial Board as well as to the contributors of the articles.

Through the friendly and intelligent coöperation of Sir Karl Knudsen, London, England, the Association has the promise of financial assistance for getting competent historical scholars in Norway to do research work there, uncovering and throwing light on the backgrounds of Norwegian immigration to the United States and Canada. Mr. Prestgard has by correspondence approached a number of societies and individuals in Norway with a request to collect old "America-letters." The results so far have been meager. With the promised assistance of Sir Karl we may hope, however, for a more active response.

This meeting may find it proper to give some expression to its appreciation of Sir Karl Knudsen's generous offer.

In retrospect we have reason to repeat the statements made by Secretary Rølvaag in his report of last February 3. "The result of the campaign up to date is neither a matter of great pride, nor one to feel dejected over. Everything considered, the Association has done well, perhaps better than any undertaking of a similar nature that has been tried among us Norwegian Americans."

This statement represents a normal attitude toward the Association and toward the public. We may, perhaps, say that at the close of the first year we had nothing but honest promises to offer; this year we are able to meet, feeling that we have begun to redeem some of the promises we have made. The two volumes of historical material already sent out, the assurance of the Editorial Board that material for another volume of STUDIES AND RECORDS is at hand, and that a large chapter dealing for the first time with Norwegian-American navigation on the Great Lakes is in the making, should give

the Association the comfortable assurance of being a going concern.

And yet, these are only beginnings. We have just put down the first stone in the foundation. We have the vision of a fine structure, but the building of it has just started. We need all the enthusiasm, all the faith, all the endurance and patience, that we, together, can muster to complete the structure and make it worthy of its important service. It may be that we have not yet fully realized the size of the task or the ramifications of the undertaking. And if we have the enthusiasm, faith, and endurance, have we scholarship with a vision and a spirit to write worthily the Norwegian saga in America? We have undertaken to produce more than the dry facts of our immigrant history in the New Normandy; we have undertaken to draw living, pulsating pictures of the life, the aspirations, the ideals, the contributions of our race to a new civilization. It is the living men and women, the Abrahams, Isaacs, and Jacobs of our immigrant history and their deeds, that we mean to establish in their far reaching influences upon American life. Can we do it? I believe we *can,* because I believe we *should.*

But our enthusiasm and our vision must reckon with things as they are, not our dreams of them. The Executive Board and the working committees fully realize that in order to accomplish our purpose, we must have not only able scholars, but we must have money. But to get the necessary means, we must make our organization effective. Our mission is first to create a desire for this thing, a desire strong enough so that the people will want it and be willing to pay for it, and then we must be able to go to the people and show them the quality of our products.

Publicity and personal correspondence will help, and our Norwegian press has been wonderful in the support that it have given us; but we must go one step further, for we must remember that the question is not only to get the work done, but to get a very important part of it done soon. We must

find some way of employing a salaried field secretary, a man who can increase the effectiveness of our organization, especially the regional end of it, and who at the same time by personal contact with individuals and groups can make friends and supporters, solicit memberships, and raise money by asking the people who have it to spare, to give it to our permanent fund, or as Mr. Oleson and Mr. Osland have done, give it to meet the expenses of original research work. I cannot estimate what a competent field secretary would cost, but I want to put this question before you: Can we find fifty men in the United States and Canada with faith enough in such a plan to be willing to give $100 a piece for one year as an experiment? I will be one of the fifty to risk the $100 if we can employ the right sort of man.

It will be the duty of this meeting to elect a president, a vice president, a secretary, and a treasurer to serve during the next three year period. Anyone having helpful suggestions or criticisms should bring them before this meeting to-day.

While this initial year of our organization has brought with it a great amount of work, the work has been made pleasant by the splendid coöperation of all the members of the Board and the working committees, and I desire here at the close of my term of office to thank these men for their unselfish support and for their kind forbearance.

D. G. Ristad, *President*

THE TREASURER'S REPORT

The following statement of November 16, 1926, from the assistant treasurer was sent to members of the Executive Board for their information:

Receipts

Life memberships	$3,200.00
Associate and sustaining memberships	2,874.10
Interest on investments	85.97
Total	$6,160.07

INVESTMENTS, SHOWING COST

$1500 South Bay 5s	$1,340.00
$500 Australia 5s	495.00
$500 Lone Star 6s	500.00
$500 Southern Cities 6s	500.00
Total cost	$2,835.00

EXPENSES

Publications:	
STUDIES AND RECORDS	$ 914.15
Flom article	4.50
Ole Rynning book	8.85
Total	$ 927.50
Traveling and Transportation (for members of the Executive Board to meetings, etc.)	$ 440.93
Stenographic and other assistance	72.59
Telephone and telegraph	14.10
Postage and insurance	185.21
Stationery and office supplies	256.85
General expenses: including incorporation expenses of $2.55 and commission of $42.05 to Ingolf Lee for securing 35 associate and 3 sustaining memberships	45.05
Exchange on checks	1.83
Total	$1,944.06
Total investments and expenses	$4,779.06
Cash on hand	1,381.01
To be invested	450.97
For expenses	930.04

SPECIAL PIONEER SAILORS' RESEARCH FUND

Donations	$700.00
Expended	587.00
On hand	113.00

BIRGER OSLAND, *Assistant Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR

In its first year of editorial activity the Association has brought out two publications: STUDIES AND RECORDS, volume 1; and Ole Rynning's *True Account of America.* The first

appeared last summer and the second came from the press late in December.

Volume 1 of STUDIES AND RECORDS contains 175 pages and consists of six historical articles and documents, in addition to an article on the aims and plans of the Association by the President, the certificate of incorporation and the by-laws of the Association, and a membership list totaling 566 names. The historical section of the volume is opened by a study of "Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine Among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825–1865," by Dr. Knut Gjerset of Luther College and Dr. Ludwig Hektoen of the University of Chicago; this is followed by a study of "The Norwegian Quakers of 1825," by Professor Henry J. Cadbury of Harvard University; and this in turn by two documents, "Bishop Jacob Neumann's Word of Admonition to the Peasants," translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin; and Reiersen's account of the "Norwegians in the West in 1844," translated by the managing editor. The volume includes also the reminiscences of the pioneer editor Carl Fredrik Solberg, reported by Albert O. Barton of Madison, Wisconsin, and a translation by Professor Karen Larsen of St. Olaf College of a vivid description of an emigrant voyage in the fifties by the captain of a Norwegian emigrant packet. Fifteen hundred copies of this volume were printed.

The editors were fortunate in securing the coöperation of the various contributors named. In the editing an attempt has been made to apply the best standards of present-day historical scholarship. The publication has been extensively reviewed in newspapers and in magazines.

The publication brought out in December is of a different type. It makes available for the public one of the most important books published in the earlier period of Norwegian immigration to the United States — Ole Rynning's *True Account of America*. This book, originally published at Christiania in 1838, had a great influence upon the emigration from Nor-

way, and it has an added interest for us because of the fascinating if tragic story which gives it its setting. We have brought the book out in the Norwegian original, taken from a photostatic copy supplied us from Norway. With the original is printed an English translation, and prefaced to these texts is an historical introduction that tells the story of Ole Rynning and his "America book." The publication is brought out as volume 1 of a series bearing the general title *Travel and Description Series.* The edition of the Rynning volume numbered fifteen hundred copies.

Thus during the first year of editorial activity the Association has established two series of publications, both of which are capable of extensive development.

Plans now under consideration by the Board involve the following steps:

1. Publication next summer of volume 2 of STUDIES AND RECORDS.

2. Publication next fall of volume 2 in the *Travel and Description Series.*

3. Publication before the end of 1927, if feasible, of volume 1 in a projected series of *Monographs.*

4. The launching of an *America Letters Series,* of which, however, the first volume could not be expected before 1928 at the earliest.

5. The encouragement of work looking toward a volume in a *Bibliographical Series.*

The publication of volume 2 of STUDIES AND RECORDS has already been authorized by the Association and much work has been given to its preparation. It will maintain the standards set up in volume 1 and it will probably be of even greater interest to the rank and file of the Association's membership. A number of the foremost scholars and writers among the Norwegian-Americans have contributed to the volume and the range of subject-matter will be considerably wider than that in volume 1.

The precise character of volume 2 in the *Travel and Description Series* has not yet been determined. In all probability, however, there will be brought together in one volume two or three of the interesting accounts of America written by the Norwegian immigrants and travelers in the United States after Ole Rynning's book appeared. There is a wealth of such material available for publication, and it is believed that these books will be of great interest not only to the Association's membership but to the American public and particularly to those who are interested in the records of nineteenth-century American history. Translations of two "America books" are under way at present and plans have been made for the translation of yet others.

The Association's series of monographs will be launched with Dr. Gjerset's book on the contributions of Norwegian-Americans to the development of shipping on the Great Lakes. Aided financially by Mr. O. M. Oleson of Fort Dodge, Iowa, and Mr. Birger Osland of Chicago, Dr. Gjerset has already carried on an extensive investigation of this subject. Such studies as he is carrying forward are too elaborate for publication in the Association's STUDIES AND RECORDS, and it is therefore proposed that a series of historical monographs be started. The Association will be fortunate if Dr. Gjerset's study can be used as the first in this series. Dr. Gjerset has not completed his study and it is not known at present when it will be completed. The Board proposes, however, to begin its editorial work on the volume as soon as it is available, and if possible it will be published before the end of the year 1927.

Important steps have been taken looking toward the collection of "America letters" in Norway and it is believed that plans can soon be worked out for a volume of such letters. Mr. Prestgard has been designated by the Board to have immediate charge of the collecting of "America letters" and he reports progress in the working out of adequate plans toward coöperative collecting in Norway. Mr. S. C. Hammer, an

archivist and well known author of Oslo, Norway, will act as the Association's representative in collecting in Norway not only "America letters" but also newspaper materials and other types of historical sources. The services of Mr. Hammer are made available through the generosity of Sir Karl Knudsen of London, England, who has voluntarily offered to pay Mr. Hammer a monthly stipend for this work. This arrangement opens up possibilities for collection and publication of far-reaching importance in the field cultivated by the Association. This at present is among the projected volumes for publication in 1928. Probably such a volume or series of volumes would be of very great interest; certainly it would be a genuine historical service to assemble "America letters" and to make them available in print.

A bibliographical series has been a desideratum from the point of view of the Board of Editors from the beginning of its labors. It is important to know precisely what has been done; to list publications in the great field of Norwegian-Americana; and to arrange and systematize our bibliographical data. Probably one portion of the field can be isolated for a first volume in the projected series. One of the subjects given consideration thus far is that of Norwegian-American travel and description. No publication in this sphere is contemplated for 1927, but plans might be worked out by the Board for a publication in 1928 or 1929.

To sum up the situation, plans are made for the publication of STUDIES AND RECORDS, volume 2, and for a second volume in the *Travel and Description Series*, for 1927. It is hoped also that Dr. Gjerset's history of Norwegian-Americans on the Great Lakes may be brought out as a separate publication in 1927. These three enterprises will probably put a very heavy burden upon the time and energy of the Board, but it is believed that the Association ought to support an aggressive editorial policy, and no apology is made for proposing three publications in 1927.

Publication plans for 1928 do not need to be settled now, but it may be noted that the following possibilities are open. The STUDIES AND RECORDS and *Travel and Description Series* may be carried each to its third volume. Possibly a volume of "America letters" may be brought out. If the finances of the Association permit, an attempt might be made to bring out four publications in that year, the fourth being a bibliographical volume.

It may be said in closing that the carrying through of the editorial program for the past year has involved strenuous work, and since it has been contributed work it has had to be fitted in with the busy round of professional duties attaching to one's regular position. The proposed program will call for even greater contributions of time to the editorial work of the Association. The time and energy are freely given as a *labor amoris*. The Association has a great opportunity before it. To a very considerable extent that opportunity would be missed if the publications of the Association were not of standard quality. It is the purpose of the Board to bring out publications of high scholarly worth. Every effort will be made to find and publish interesting and important new materials, and to handle these materials in accordance with approved scientific methods. The earnest, efficient, and wholehearted coöperation of the officers of the Association has been of the first importance in encouraging the members of the Board thus far. The support of the members of the Association and the cordial coöperation of Norwegian-American scholars have likewise aided measurably in the carrying forward of the work. The Board will continue the work successfully only if it continues to find such coöperation, support, and encouragement.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN, *Managing Editor*

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GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF MEMBERS

Based upon the list of members as corrected to May 1, 1927. The figures include the institutional members of the association.

United States

Minnesota	298	Pennsylvania	3
Illinois	126	Michigan	3
Iowa	115	Texas	3
Wisconsin	101	Massachusetts	2
North Dakota	40	Nebraska	2
New York	27	Oregon	2
South Dakota	27	Connecticut	2
Washington	19	Missouri	1
California	13	New Jersey	1
District of Columbia	5	Wyoming	1
Montana	5	Colorado	1
Ohio	4	Alabama	1
		Alaska	1

Foreign Countries

Norway	7	England	2
Canada	3	Madagascar	1

Total Membership 816

A SUGGESTION

The establishment of an endowment of considerable size would of course make certain the permanence of the work that has been begun by the Norwegian-American Historical Association. Funds are needed, and it is hoped that in not a few cases bequests will be made to the association for the enlargement of its permanent fund. The following form of bequest has been suggested:

Being in sympathy with the movement to preserve the records and make public the historical facts pertaining to the Norwegian-American people, I hereby give and bequeath unto the Norwegian-American Historical Association, incorporated under the laws of Minnesota, the sum of..... dollars, to be paid in due course of the administration of my estate.

Signed.....

PUBLICATIONS OF THE NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Studies and Records. Volume I. Minneapolis, 1926. 175 p. $2.00. Contains the following articles and documents : "Health Conditions and the Practice of Medicine among the Early Norwegian Settlers, 1825-1865," by Knut Gjerset and Ludvig Hektoen; "The Norwegian Quakers of 1825," by Henry J. Cadbury; "Bishop Jacob Neumann's Word of Admonition to the Peasants," translated and edited by Gunnar J. Malmin; Reiersen's contemporary account of "Norwegians in the West in 1844," translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen; Cock-Jensen's "An Emigrant Voyage in the Fifties," translated and edited by Karen Larsen; and Carl F. Solberg's "Reminiscences of a Pioneer Editor," edited by Albert O. Barton.

Ole Rynning's True Account of America. Translated and edited by Theodore C. Blegen. Travel and Description Series, volume 1. Minneapolis, 1926. 100 p. $1.00. Contains historical introduction; original text of Rynning's book about America as published in Norway in 1838; and a complete English translation.

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